

**The Special Bases of the  
Anglican Claim**

By **George F. Holden, M.A.**

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THE SPECIAL BASES OF  
THE ANGLICAN CLAIM



# *The Special Bases of the* **ANGLICAN CLAIM**

BY

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NEW AND REVISED EDITION, WITH NOTES BY

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WITH FOREWORD BY

THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON

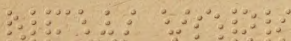
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## FOREWORD

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WHEN I knelt by Mr. Holden's bedside, as he died, I felt that we were losing not only a devoted priest, but a clear and original thinker from the Church on earth, and the careful perusal of this book, which has now been re-edited, confirms me in the opinion.

Mr. Holden was a firmly convinced and ardent Catholic, but he was also an equally convinced and ardent *English* Catholic, and there is something positively refreshing in these days when men humbly apologise for every particular in which the Church of England differs from the Church of Rome, in his fearless justification of its appeal to antiquity, its comprehensiveness, its continuity, its reasonableness, and its nationality.

The book is short, vigorous, and to the point, and I heartily commend it to the attention of the Church.

A. F. LONDON :

FEAST OF S. MATTHIAS,  
1916.



## PRÉFACE

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THESE Lectures were delivered substantially in their present form at S. John's Church, Wilton Road, on the Wednesdays in Lent, 1903.

They were composed solely with a view to oral delivery, and are therefore necessarily subject to the shortcomings inseparable from compositions of this kind.

It has, however, been urged upon me by many friends, and by one in particular whose opinion I have no right to ignore, that these Lectures should be reproduced in a form which might make them accessible to a wider circle of Churchgoers. Their object was to meet the needs of the time by describing some of the most distinctive characteristics of the Church of England. As, however, it would be impossible within the scope of this little work to enter into every aspect of the important questions raised, with the complete



fullness of detail which might be desirable, it is hoped that it may be sufficient to refer the reader, for further information, to the following works dealing with this intricate subject—

Salmon, *The Infallibility of the Church* ; Gore, *Roman Catholic Claims* ; Aubrey L. Moore, *History of the Reformation* ; MacColl, *The Reformation Settlement* ; Newbolt and Stone, *The Church of England* ; Latham, *Pastor Pastorum* ; Dixon, *History of the Church of England* ; Creighton, *The Church and the Nation* ; Janus, *The Pope and the Council* ; Moberly, *Reason and Religion* ; Wakeman, *History of the Church of England* ; *Lux Mundi*.

G. F. H.

S. JOHN'S, WILTON ROAD,

June, 1903.

## EDITORS' PREFACE

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THE writer of this book was for some years in charge of S. John's Church, Wilton Road, and for a short time before his early death had been Vicar of All Saints', Margaret Street. The book itself has of late been out of print; its reissue will perhaps recall not only a singularly fruitful personal ministry, but also teachings and traditions characteristic of a historic centre of the Oxford Movement.

The editors desire to draw attention to Mr. Holden's own preface, in which the original character and scope of these lectures are described. The book should be read as what it is—a republication of lectures necessarily of a somewhat informal and untechnical kind, delivered in the course of an ordinary parochial ministry to members of the lecturer's own congregation, and subsequently printed at the request of the

hearers. It bears, almost upon every page, indications of the religious and political situation of the moment, both at home and abroad. It does not claim to be a systematic or thorough treatment of its subject. The present editors have confined themselves in their notes to such corrections of fact and modifications or explanations of the argument as they feel that fresh study of the facts requires. They were not free to handle the text of the book and have therefore made no additions to it.

Working within these somewhat narrowly defined limits, the editors do not, naturally, accept responsibility for every detail of the argument; but they commend the substance of Mr. Holden's teaching of 1903 with strong confidence to the readers of 1916. His clear and pregnant statement of the five great marks of the Anglican position will come with almost a prophetic force at a moment when Church and State alike are gravely threatened by the claims of anti-national absolutism and uniformity, whether Papal or Teutonic. Mr. Holden presents a conception of Anglican Catholicism which is both historical and constructive, at once



an *eirenicon* and a challenge. It is an essay, at once definite and tolerant, towards that "comprehension for the sake of truth rather than compromise for the sake of peace," which is the age-long mark of the Spirit of unity. As such, it may, perhaps, be not unwelcome to those loyal members of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* who themselves have viewed her from other standpoints. It boldly accepts what many regard as her defects, and proclaims them as the glory and the message which God has given to her, to which in our day and generation we who are, in CHRIST, her children are called to be true.

The editors have to thank Dr. F. E. Brightman, Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, Dr. Darwell Stone, Principal of Pusey House, Oxford, and Dr. J. Wickham Legg, for their kind help on particular points which they have referred to them.

F. C. N. H.  
S. L. O.

## CONTENTS

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	PAGE
I. THE APPEAL TO ANTIQUITY - - -	I
II. COMPREHENSIVENESS - - -	43
III. CONTINUITY - - -	80
IV. REASONABLENESS - - -	128
V. NATIONALITY - - -	169

# THE SPECIAL BASES OF THE ANGLICAN CLAIM

## I

### THE APPEAL TO ANTIQUITY

NO one, I think, can make even a very slight study of God's world of nature without being impressed by its marvellous variety. It bears, writ large upon it for those who are willing to see, the unlimited bountifulness of the Creator. Each part has its own glory, and each individual section of each part has its own abiding witness to the fullness of God. In the vast range even of inanimate nature it can be traced clearly enough by those who approach nature reverently, as to a sacrament of God.

The Apostle's declaration that there is one glory of the sun, another glory of the moon, another of the stars, and that one star differeth from another in glory, is but the selection of one striking illustration of that which



is true of all. As we ascend in our consideration of the scale of being, and study that which we call life (little as we understand what we mean by the term), our appreciation of the infinite variety and individual glory of God's handiwork deepens and widens. Every tree, every plant, every fruit, every flower, has the same tale to tell, a tale which the vast mass of animal life in its infinite variety of species but re-echoes. Rise higher still, study human life under either its individual or its social aspect; and the verdict is without question exactly the same. The isolation, the splendid yet terrible isolation, of each separate human being, like unto its fellows, yet how unlike—so small when regarded in its relation to the teeming myriads around, so mighty and majestic in its solitude—thought out, planned by the Divine Creator from all eternity to be itself and no one else, and in that self never losing its individuality, destined to be with God for ever—all this tells of a special glory of God which each individual soul is to proclaim. And when these units are gathered into communities, and live and grow and spread their ideas under the God-appointed social life of

man, we see each community, each nation, with its own peculiar glory, its own special power of service to the common body. It is not one of the least attractive sides of the mission field, that as the Incarnation touches other nationalities it has fresh and hidden glories to disclose, glories apparently which cannot be disclosed until God's unspeakable gift touches the mysterious principle of infinite and glorious variety in human life.

It would be foreign to our purpose to dwell upon it, but it is nevertheless true that the great national religions, those religions outside Christianity, so splendid, so degraded, proclaim the same great truth. Each has its own glory. There is a glory of Mohammed as there is of CHRIST, though the one may be so far below the other that in CHRIST's dazzling light it can hardly be discerned.

Now, if all this is true of God's world—inanimate, animate, human, national, religious—it is fair to assume that if we look for it we shall find it within the sacred Body of CHRIST, His Church. There is, depend upon it, a characteristic glory of each of the many expressions of our common faith, even of those outside the Apostolic Body, much more

within its God-appointed limits. Those millions of orthodox Christians in the East, you may be sure, have their own characteristic glory to shed upon the community of all Christian people, and the great Latin Church has its own majestic message to proclaim. Therefore, not least of all, we may be sure, has our English Mother Church her own characteristic glory.

In these lectures I am going to ask you to trace out with me some of these her special gifts. It will not be possible to escape controversy altogether, nor must we shrink from it when it is a duty ; but we can at least try to avoid the controversial spirit. Such a method gives us the enormous advantage of stating our position positively, and not negatively. It will be clear as we proceed that what is chiefly in one's mind is, of course, our great dispute with Rome. I am certain that some of our people fall an easy prey to the energetic controversialists of that great Church, simply from ignorance of the positive qualities, and therefore the positive line of defence, of their own Church. Not seldom, on close examination, it will be found that the very points in the Church of England



which are singled out for ridicule or reproach are precisely those points which, rightly regarded and properly explained, constitute her peculiar glory, and therefore her special strength.

(A) It is well to begin by laying down the assumptions on which we shall proceed.

1. It is assumed that the Church of England is an integral portion of CHRIST'S Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. I am not concerned to defend this position : I assume that she is what she claims to be. I do not find the word "Protestant" in her Prayer Book : I *do* find the word "Catholic." Therefore her relation to the Protestant or negative aspect of Christianity is in some respects of minor moment. She claims to be a member of CHRIST'S Catholic Body. I assume her claim, and go on to ask what are the special glories she has to show forth for the edification of Catholic Christendom.

2. It is assumed in this lecture that the principle of nationality<sup>1</sup> comes from God. I

<sup>1</sup> The point that nationality comes from God is particularly worked out by Dr. J. B. Mozley in his famous sermon on War (*University and other Sermons*, Sermon v).

am aware that this is disputed, and disputed by those well deserving of respect. When we come to the lecture which deals with Nationality, it will be our duty to examine the question as carefully as possible. For the present, let it be assumed that nationality is God-given, and that all its effects and colours will essentially be God-blessed. Perhaps there is no point on which the Church of England comes more sharply into collision with Rome than this. The tendency in the latter Church is to crush out the spirit of nationality in its relation to religion ; as witness her treatment of Gallicanism. The tendency of the former is to cherish it as amongst God's best gifts, and to expect the divine blessing upon its consecration to the one Lord of lords and King of kings.

3. It is assumed that while we state our own glories and thank God for them, we do not ignore those of other Churches, or indeed those of any Community of Christian people. It is necessary to state this, otherwise the lectures might seem to savour of self-praise and incur the reproach of Pharisaism. Some day I should like to give a

series of lectures upon the characteristic glories of other Churches. The Church of Rome has her own splendid gifts and her own unique glory. Upon her there has descended much of that splendid genius for government which was, perhaps, God's best gift to the ancient Roman Empire. Who is there that does not admire the absorbing devotion and the limitless self-sacrifice she kindles amongst her faithful children? No Anglican who reflects upon the shortcomings of the members of his Church towards the Sacrament of the altar, will be churlish enough to refuse a tribute of praise to the Roman Communion for the wonderful way in which she has always preserved the Holy Eucharist as the central act of worship. No less cheerfully will he thank God for what she has to teach us in the wide range of Ascetic Theology, and in the beautiful orderliness of her worship.

So the Holy Orthodox Church of the East also has her own special and peculiar gifts to bestow upon the whole Catholic Body. To what Church but her shall we go for the best liturgical model? The Greek Fathers, her spiritual ancestors, have their own message

to give to this difficult and doubting age as to the abiding relation of all that is best in human intellect to the Faith once delivered to the saints. If she fails in development and adaptation to our ever-varying humanity, unlike her spiritual sisters of the West, has she not on that very account a more unfaltering witness to maintain as to what was Primitive and Apostolic? We have it on the authority of Bishop Creighton that the Russians are the most religious people in the world; and no one who has been in Russia will question the beautiful lessons that glorious Church has to teach us of the sublime recognition of God in the ordinary daily life.

And as the Latin Church and the Holy Orthodox Church have their own peculiar characteristic glories, may we not say the same of those numerous Protestant bodies whose special qualities are familiar to us English people under the term "Nonconformity"? Sometimes our Nonconformist friends put us to shame by their splendid example of personal, individual religion. He would be either a careless reader of the lessons of English history, or a churl who

would refuse honour to whom honour is due—who failed to recognize how much we are indebted for our modern conceptions of civil and religious liberty, and the realization of the deathless truth that righteousness exalteth a nation, while sin is a reproach to any people, to the great Nonconformist bodies of this country.

Nay, I will go further. That man has put himself out of court altogether as an authority upon English religious life who ignores the fact that each separate sect is a witness to some one great and glorious truth, which indeed it may have exaggerated, which indeed is certainly taught in its rightful relation to the general body of the deposit of Faith in the Church herself, but which has there either been obscured or for the time ignored. The Quakers with their doctrine of the inward light, the Wesleyans with their great truth about conversion, even the Unitarians in their noble revolt against a Calvinistic doctrine of the Atonement, and their insistence upon the unity of God, are only a few illustrations out of many which might be given of what glories other religions in relation to Chris-



tianity, orthodox or unorthodox, may manifest for our edification.

We do not ignore what other religions have done as we think upon and thank God for the special glories He has bestowed upon the Church of England. I have grouped these characteristic glories under five heads, which will each afford material for a lecture :—

1. The Appeal to Antiquity.
2. Comprehensiveness.
3. Continuity.
4. Reasonableness.
5. Nationality.

In this lecture we will consider the first of these—The Appeal to Antiquity.

(*B*) The central idea of the great protest of the sixteenth century, which we call the Reformation, was the appeal to antiquity. The Reformers may have made mistakes as to what was or was not ancient doctrine or custom. It would be admitted by most students now that they *did* in their ignorance make grave mistakes. Nevertheless, their idea, their root principle, of asking for the old paths was right and true.

Of course, if one holds that whatever the Church decrees is right, and if we identify the term "Church" with the Roman Church and deny the possibility of falling into error, then the appeal to antiquity becomes absurd. Whatsoever *is*, is right. Let there be no questioning and no appeal. Reform is impossible, because it is not needed : things are perfect. It is treason against the HOLY SPIRIT to think otherwise. There were people, and good people, who thought so then ; and there are people, and good people, who think so now, as we shall shortly see.

Such, however, was far from being the view—I will not say of the Reformers, but—of a man like Erasmus, who lived in the period immediately prior to the Reformation, and of whom it was said that "if Luther hatched the Reformation, Erasmus laid the egg." Even a very cursory glance at his writings will show you that corruptions, and the most monstrous corruptions, of morals had crept into the life of the Church, clergy as well as laity ; and intolerable abuse, with monetary gain for its object, into the practical religious system of the day.

Was it not natural, nay, was it not inevit-

able, that men should begin to ask themselves whether this corruption was bounded simply by the spheres of moral life and practical devotion? Might it not have extended to doctrine?

Considerably more than a thousand years had rolled by since CHRIST revealed His sublime truths to the world. During that time, was it not possible, nay, was it not highly probable, that grievous errors had crept in? At any rate, it was a time of inquiry. Had they not a right to try and search as to what doctrines, what customs, prevailed in Apostolic and sub-apostolic times? Nay, inasmuch as GOD the HOLY SPIRIT had enshrined the best traditions of those early days in writing, and these sacred books had been preserved, might they not, *must* they not, open the neglected pages and compare the current system both of faith and morals with that of primitive times?

Hence, you will find over and over again, especially in the writings of the English Reformers, and upon the pages of the English Prayer Book, the claim to go back to early days, to search the Scriptures and the writings of the ancient authors, and

see how far, or if at all, the Christianity of their day and generation had fallen away from the Faith once delivered to the saints. The results were curious, are *still* curious. Cardinal Newman was a man too profoundly versed in patristic and Scriptural learning to be able completely to identify the Roman system of his day with what he knew of early Christianity. Hence, he went over to the Roman Communion, as everybody knows, on the question of development. Certain vital tenets of the modern Church of Rome are conspicuous by their absence, both from Holy Scripture and from the most ancient authors ; some of which I will particularize in a moment.

The Reformers, though in ignorance they made mistakes here and there, in the main arrived at the same conclusion. Certain vital tenets of the Church of Rome of their day were found to be conspicuous by their absence, when the searching test of antiquity was applied. They had no theory of development to fall back on like Newman. Hence, the great revolt.

Moreover, the tendency then as now, though perhaps not so great then as now,

was to erect matters of pious opinion into dogmas which were to be regarded as *de fide* or necessary to salvation. To define overmuch is to narrow the Church. Every additional definition means exclusion. It was incredible to the Reformers, as it is to us, that questions about the prerogatives of the Papacy, the precise relation of the Blessed Virgin to the scheme of salvation, the Invocation of Saints, and the like, should be binding on them as necessary to salvation, while for ages they had been matters of pious opinion, in the very early days practically were ignored, and in the Holy Scriptures were certainly not on the surface, if there at all.

This is still the position of the Church of England, as it was three hundred years ago. She asks for the old paths, and is prepared to walk in them. She has never been rigorous on matters which are of pious opinion, and concerning which men may rightly differ ; but she has a very jealous regard for the rule of faith, and refuses to bind a burden upon the backs of her children which their forefathers were not able to bear.

Primitive Catholic Christianity is one thing, which with care and study may be



ascertained. The minute definitions of Rome upon many questions which were not of faith then, and consequently are not so now, are quite another thing.

We cannot do better than quote the words of the late Cardinal Manning in order to show the huge chasm which exists between the Church of England and the Church of Rome on this subject. He says, "The appeal to antiquity is both a treason and a heresy. . . . I may say in strict truth that the Church has no antiquity. It rests upon its own supernatural and perpetual consciousness. . . . The only divine evidence to us of what was primitive is the witness and voice of the Church at this hour."<sup>1</sup>

The Church is "a witness and keeper of Holy Writ," and has "authority in controversies of faith,"<sup>2</sup> says the Church of England. The Church is a perpetual oracle, ever capable of revealing new truth, which the faithful must accept on pain of damnation, seems virtually the only conclusion to

<sup>1</sup> Manning, *Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost*, 3rd ed., 1877, pp. 238-240.

<sup>2</sup> Nineteenth Article of Religion. See on this Dr. B. J. Kidd, *The Thirty-nine Articles*, in loco.

be drawn from words such as those of Dr. Manning. In ordinary life, it is the really strong man who can afford to admit that he may have made a mistake, and, if so, will mend his ways ; just as it is the weak and obstinate man who refuses to admit such a possibility. We can only express the wish that the same rule were applied to Churches.

The Church of England acknowledges that Churches may err, and therefore in the light of that fact she goes back to primitive times for information. I believe that God blesses such humility, and that the ecclesiastical pride which is afraid to admit the possibility of error or mistake, in the long run must encounter the divine resistance.

(C) But now let us analyse the primary ideas which lie at the root of any appeal to antiquity either in things secular or sacred.

1. The Faith was once delivered to the Saints. Our conception of the Church is not that of a Society capable of for ever revealing new truth. The Church is rather a witness and keeper of truth already revealed. For example, let us take the case of the doctrine

of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which was promulgated by Pius IX within living memory. I am not now concerned with this as a question of pious opinion, about which good men may legitimately differ. This doctrine now is *binding* on the faithful of the Latin Communion. Therefore the Faith once delivered to the saints should include this. If it does not, it is inconceivable that a dogma should be binding on the faithful of the twentieth century, *the rejection of which may affect their salvation*, if it was not necessary to faith in the primitive Church. Now, it is notorious that it was unknown at that early period, and that its truth during the Middle Ages was hotly debated between the Dominicans and the Franciscans.

If you wish to confirm this test, you can take, on the other hand, a great doctrine like the Real Presence of our Divine Master in the Holy Eucharist, and see what a wealth of patristic testimony can be produced in its favour. The latter was part of the deposit of Faith once delivered to the saints; the former, whatever be its merits or demerits, was not.

2. The common-sense rule—the nearer the source, the purer the stream. If corruption could grow up in the Jewish Church it is possible it may do so in the Christian Society. We know that it did grow up in the older Society, and we know, moreover, that some of our LORD's sternest denunciations were directed against those who made void the Divine Commandments through their traditions. Surely it is a most reasonable thing that the Church should, from time to time, bring to the test of the Faith once delivered to the saints the various dogmas which she has to teach her children are *de fide*. We give, and rightly give, great weight to the opinions of those who lived in the Apostolic or sub-apostolic age.

3. Evolution is in the air. After a hard battle we believe it has come to stay, and most sensible Christians are asking themselves, What are the relations of the accepted conclusions of Evolution to the Christian Faith, and, above all, what has this latest revelation of the GOD of nature to teach concerning the revelation of the GOD of grace?

Evolution in religion has an absorbing

interest above and beyond that of Evolution in nature. If religion has to do with an ever-moving, growing, progressive Humanity, it must be for ever adapting itself to the ever-varying Humanity with which it has to deal. It is precisely this phase of the Christian religion which most disappoints the agnostic or the unbeliever. Time after time, as the ages have rolled on, he has uttered his dismal prophecy that the Christian Faith is doomed to disappear before the increased knowledge of mankind. Time after time, he has declared that it is an effete, worn-out superstition which will fade out before the rising dawn of Rationalism. Time after time he has said this, from Celsus down to Voltaire, and time after time, to his dismay, he has found this wonderful religion, after coming in contact with new conditions and new epochs of human life, coalescing with them, using them, coming out the stronger for the contact, and then going triumphantly on its way, until it meets a new phase of human life. On this great principle rests much of the promise of the Christian Faith in the twentieth century. It is a transitional period. The old moorings are shifting, and religion



already is beginning to feel its way and see to its reconstruction in the light of new ideas. The topic is a fascinating one. I merely enlarge upon it because I feel more strongly than I can find words to express that the evolutionary side of the Christian religion is perhaps its most marvellous side, and that it has no dangers in its readjustment of truth, *provided* it does not evolve something contrary to itself, which is always possible on Cardinal Manning's theory—*provided* that it is concerned with the readjustment of the Ancient Faith to modern conditions—*provided* that in its eager questioning as to its relations to twentieth-century ideas it is able to appeal to antiquity and to find out from the Holy Scriptures, from the writings of the ancient authors, from the witness of the Early Church, what are the fundamental verities which at all costs it must preserve.

The Church of England, in her appeal to antiquity, provides such a security. If the Church is a kind of oracle capable of revealing new truth, and not merely a witness and keeper of ancient truth once received, I see no such security. It is con-

ceivable, though I am thankful to admit in the last degree unlikely, that the Church of Rome might decree as of faith some heresy on the Atonement or the Incarnation. If she did, there is no court of appeal. Her faithful must either take it or leave her pale. In the equally unlikely case of the Church of England doing any such thing, it is open to her children to search the Scriptures and the early writers, and to find out the truth.

(D) Let us bring to the test of the appeal to antiquity a few out of the numerous doctrines characteristic of the Church of Rome, about which we are at issue. (I) Take the central doctrine to which we are always brought round, whatever other doctrine we may be discussing. I mean the doctrine of the temporal jurisdiction and infallibility of the pope. The atmosphere of the Early Church in relation to this question and that of modern Rome is as different as that of the Riviera from the banks of Newfoundland.

There is even a kind of attraction in the simplicity of the Roman system. Let us

appeal to the oracle, and get the matter settled. Yes, it is attractive to us in these days of facility of communication and easiness of transit. Depend upon it, it would be tenfold more attractive in those early days when practically there was little or no facility of communication, and when travelling was beset with a thousand dangers. If, we ask, the infallible utterance of the Roman Pontiff can settle disputed points of doctrine without further question, why should it have been necessary to call the fathers of Nicaea together from the four quarters of the earth?

If, again we ask, the Roman bishop has universal jurisdiction, why did he neither call the Council of Nicaea together nor preside over it? To me, at any rate, it seems such questions have no answer. The *simplicity* of the method of an appeal to Rome is very attractive. It is precisely the method the Church of the fourth century did not adopt.

Moreover, it has been said, and, so far as I know, the challenge has never been taken up, that none of the Greek fathers of the first six centuries connect the position of the Bishop of Rome with the promise to

S. Peter.<sup>1</sup> If this was CHRIST's divinely appointed method of governing His Church, we ought to find it not only in the West, where at best it is but obscure, but also in the East. It is in the East conspicuous by its absence. We now turn to the Holy Scriptures. Does this appeal to antiquity provide us with an infallible pontiff? We find that at the first council of the Church, in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, S. James presided, and that S. Peter was seemingly an ordinary member.

Can anybody explain on papal grounds how it was possible for S. Paul to "withstand" S. Peter "to the face" and rebuke him "because he was to be blamed," or S. Peter being ranked with S. James and S. John as pillar-

<sup>1</sup> As it stands the statement in the text is inaccurate. Roman Catholic authorities quote Greek Fathers connecting the position of the pope with the promise to S. Peter—e.g., Maldonatus, *Commentary on S. Matthew*, xvi. 18; Pope Leo XIII in his Encyclical *Satis Cognitum*; Wilhelm and Scannell, *Manual of Catholic Theology*, ii. 319–26. Whether the quotations bear out the references is quite another question. For a recent and exhaustive treatment of this, see E. Denny, *Papalism*, pp. 29 ff., 44 ff., 54 ff., 86 ff., 372 ff. See also Puller, *Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*; Bright, *Roman See in the Early Church*, and *The Age of the Fathers*.

apostles, or that there is no allusion even to S. Peter's supremacy, to say nothing of his infallibility, in either the Epistle which S. Paul wrote to the Romans or in the Epistles he wrote from Rome to other Churches?

When brought to the test of the appeal to antiquity, the central doctrine of the Church of Rome—that which colours most of her other peculiar doctrines—the universal jurisdiction and infallibility of the pope—fails to stand the test.

2. It is not less so with other doctrines and customs. I have already alluded to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Let us turn for a moment to that vast system which occupies so large a portion of the activities of the Church of Rome in the twentieth century, and out of which the dogma of the Immaculate Conception grew. I mean her exaggerated devotion to the Blessed Virgin. I will yield to none in my love for and devotion to the glorious *Theotokos*, the Mother of God. I will go further, and, in the devout words of a member of the Church of Rome, I will say "that it is impossible to love Mary too much, provided that we love our LORD infinitely



more." I believe none the less that no one would dislike the exaggerated worship paid to her more than that gracious Mother herself, the queen of womanhood. The exaggerations are notorious. Bring all the vast system of modern Roman Mariolatry to the test of an appeal to antiquity, and what do you find ?

Alike in the Holy Scriptures and in the early writers, we find a most marked reticence, almost suggestive of a kind of dim foreboding that her necessary position in the scheme of redemption would be corrupted and abused. A passage like this—

"Soul of the Virgin, illuminate me ;

"Body of the Virgin, guard me ;

"Milk of the Virgin, feed me ;

"Passage of the Virgin, strengthen me ;

"O Mary, mother of grace, intercede for me ;

"For thy servant take me ;

"Make me always to trust in thee ;

"From all evils protect me ;

"In the hour of my death assist me ;

"And prepare for me a safe way to thee ;

"That with all the elect I may glorify thee,

"For ever and ever"—

is as foreign to the whole attitude of the Early Church and the Holy Scriptures towards the Blessed Virgin as it is possible to be.<sup>1</sup>

3. When we come to ecclesiastical customs the list is equally unsatisfactory. The primitive Church and the Bible knew nothing of the enforced celibacy of the clergy. S. Peter himself was a married man. The Eastern Church to this day, while, for reasons good to itself, it selects its bishops only from the monastic orders, freely allows marriage to the second and third orders of the ministry ;<sup>2</sup> and the Eastern Church has

<sup>1</sup> The *Anima Virginis* is found in the *Vade mecum piorum sacerdotum* : Nova Editio, Campidonaë, 1865, and is translated by Bishop Gore, *Roman Catholic Claims*, Tenth Edition, pp. 181, 182. It occurs previously in the *Psalterium in honorem B. Mariæ Virginis*, compiled by S. Bonaventura, printed at Rome and published there, *Superiorum permissu*, 1660. The *Psalterium* is now carefully suppressed, but clearly had very high authority in 1660. Dom Chapman (*Bishop Gore and the Catholic Claims*, Longmans, 1905, pp. 109, 110) has criticized Bishop Gore's translation ; we therefore print the original Latin as an appendix (below, p. 212).

<sup>2</sup> This statement needs expansion or qualification. The Eastern Church requires all deacons to be married before ordination to the priesthood (unless they are members of monastic orders). It does not permit the marriage of a priest after ordination to the priesthood. But all Eastern parochial clergy are married men.

altered less than any Church the customs and usages of the ancient Church. There is, moreover, no error or defect in the Anglican Church, however grave, for which I would not rather answer than the daring presumption of the Roman authorities in withdrawing the chalice from the laity.

If one were disposed to question the full participation of our Roman brethren in the Sacrament of the altar (which I am not concerned to do), a strong case might be made out of the withdrawal of the chalice. God forbid that we should betake ourselves to the unworthy weapons which have sometimes been used against us. We say, and gladly say, that God is not unmindful of His people, and that He will take care the unlawful withholding of one of the sacred elements shall not interfere with the fullness of the gifts He has to bestow. None the less it is true that this daring innovation, when brought to the test either of the Scriptures or the Early Church, stands self-condemned.

(E) There is one objection, and as far as I know, only one, of any weight, to the

appeal to antiquity. It is said that it is *difficult* for the ordinary person to discover what is primitive and ancient—that it implies learning and scholarship, which cannot be the privilege of the great multitude.

This is a valid objection, if easiness in ascertaining authority were our Divine Master's wish. It is possible to have an authority so minute, and so readily accessible, that it saps the root of all true independence.

Any educationist will tell you that true education, robust training, consists in helping children to educate and train themselves. There must of course be authoritative guidance. The child must be warned off dangerous pathways here, and led into safe and sound roads there. But it follows that if the guidance is given too frequently, if the child on each and every occasion is directed to consult the teacher and not think for itself, the result is disastrous. We all know the mental bracing and strength which comes when we have thought out our own problems for ourselves. In other words, authoritative guidance must be given as far as is absolutely necessary, and no

more. It must not be used to the extent of injuring the mental growth of the pupil.

Accordingly, He Who may be called without irreverence the Prince of Educationists, the CHRIST Himself, as every reader of the Gospels may see for himself, in His training of the Apostolic College did not proceed upon the bad and vicious system which we call cramming. His system of the training of the Apostles will well repay a careful study, such as Mr. Latham has bestowed upon it in his book *Pastor Pastorum*.

His whole object was to train the Apostles to think for themselves. He helped them. Yes, but not too much, not to their detriment. His system of teaching by parables—to select one instance out of a great many—is an illustration of the divine method. They were taught by this method (and there is no method half so good) to think out great moral and religious questions for themselves. To the larger number of parables no explanation is given; the hearers must puzzle it out. It is good for them so to do; it is bad for them to be told every minute detail. He loved

them far too deeply to purchase a rapid and shallow acquiescence at the cost of their eternal character. Our LORD's frequent use of paradox points to the same lesson. What is paradox? It is the taking of two extremes of one and the same truth, which seem to be contradictory, and leaving the human mind to puzzle out for itself the underlying unity of thought. "Whosoever will lose his life shall save it, and whosoever will save it shall lose it," is perhaps the most familiar of our LORD's many paradoxes.

Perhaps more striking still in this connection is our LORD's marked refusal to grant a sign from heaven. As far as one can venture to peer into so deep a mystery, this was the meaning of the second temptation, when the tempter urged Him to cast Himself headlong from the summit of the Temple. Can any one doubt that if that clear authoritative act had taken place, if our LORD had descended into the courts of the Temple poised upon invisible hands, the Jewish authorities would not have admitted His Messianic claim? This, however, is not His way. So, when they demanded a sign, He said, "There shall no sign be



given but the sign of the prophet Jonah"—that is, the Resurrection.<sup>1</sup> Belief in the Resurrection of CHRIST, on which the Apostles laid such stress, is not forced on men's minds, but for those who will take the trouble to think out its evidence, can be arrived at by the ordinary processes of human thought.

If easiness in ascertaining authority were all that was wanted, why, we may well ask, should it be necessary to assemble a council at Jerusalem to determine the vexed question as to how far the details of the Jewish law were to be binding upon the Gentile converts? Let S. Peter settle it. That would have been the *easy* way, and it is precisely the way which was not chosen.

If easiness were the main thing, why, again may we ask, was a council assembled at Nicaea to settle the vital question of our LORD's divinity? Let the successor of S. Peter settle it once for all. Such a solution is attractive in its easiness and

<sup>1</sup> S. Matt. xii. 40. Mr. Holden does not raise the critical questions involved in this passage and its parallels (S. Matt. xvi. 4, S. Luke xi. 29 ff.), but, apart from the illustration, his point is clear.

simplicity, but it is precisely that which did not take place.

The truth is, easiness to define means frequency of definition, and frequency of definition means increase in narrowness ; for every new dogma promulgated means the exclusion of those who do not accept it.

No one can read the early history of the Church without being struck by her marked reluctance to define. She only did so when it was absolutely necessary, and to avoid greater evils. The Nicene Creed was necessary to warn off her children from the dangerous pathways of heresy concerning CHRIST'S Godhead. In itself the Church would have been contented with a creed as simple as the Apostles'. Authority, as any British subject knows, too readily obtainable, too frequently exercised, is a source of weakness, not of strength.

The appeal to antiquity may be tedious, slow, difficult, cumbersome. I am not sure whether that very fact is not its strong point. We do not want the great Christian revelation to be "cribbed, cabined, and confined" by a multitude of new and strange dogmatic definitions. Truth enough for salvation

is revealed clearly enough. Let us leave all, short of that, to free debate and inquiry.

These thoughts upon the great objection to the appeal to antiquity naturally lead me to a brief enumeration of its advantages. I select three advantages out of a great many. It secures—

1. *A tender regard for human reason.* Without trenching upon one of the later lectures, I may say that in the light of one of the great tendencies of the age in which we live this is a gain of enormous value. Education is in the air, and in the future the humanity with which Christianity will have to deal will be an educated humanity. Beyond question, that Christianity will appeal which has not ignored the reasonable side of things, which traces the great central truths of the Faith, not only in revelation but also—in part, at any rate—in that religion of nature which can be arrived at by the ordinary processes of thought. I shall hope to show later on what a rich reward the English Church has reaped for her tender handling of reason in its relation to authority, in the splendid group of

champions of the Faith which she has called into being.

It would be unkind to say very much of the position of her great rival in this respect. Nemesis has come upon the Roman Church for that crushing of the reason which is the necessary outcome of her centralizing policy and authority. Few would dream of going to her to obtain help in this time of need. It would be difficult to name in her communion many great authorities in evidential theology.<sup>1</sup> The reason is not far to seek.

We pass on to notice a second great advantage.

2. *The terms of communion are not unduly narrowed down.* It has already been pointed out that to define is to narrow. The dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and the infallibility of the pope have excluded some of the best thought from the Church of

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Holden is speaking of apologetics for the Christian Faith as a whole. The subject is, of course, treated by the great Roman theologians; but their method is deductive, and rests, by the necessity of their position, upon the acceptance of the dogma of papal infallibility. It would be as idle as it is dangerous to ignore the great work done by Roman Catholic scholars in many other departments of theology.

Rome. The secession of Dr. Döllinger after the Vatican Council appears to us to have been simply disastrous beyond description.<sup>1</sup> Here was a man, a strong Catholic in the old sense, excluded from his Church because he could not conscientiously accept modern definitions about doctrines which were unknown in the Early Church.

This secession was but one of many. Unity was secured, but at what a cost! The pope excluded others, forgetting at the same time that he was locking his own prison doors, and turning a great Catholic society into one of the narrowest sects in Christendom.

But there remains a third advantage to which I must call your attention at somewhat greater length.

3. *The idea of authority which has been sketched in this lecture is in accordance with God's general method of authority in the world.* If this is so, it is an argument of the highest possible kind. We are learning to realize

<sup>1</sup> It is possible to overestimate the result of the Vatican Decrees as far as individual secessions go. No other scholar of equal eminence with Dr. Döllinger seceded.

more and more that the GOD of nature is the GOD of grace, that both revelations come from Him, and therefore that the methods of the one are probably to be found in the other. "I am come not to destroy but to fulfil" is as true of the laws of nature as of the Mosaic dispensation. The divine methods which we see plainly in CHRIST are to be traced in GOD's ordinary dealings with man, though it may be not so clearly.

In other words we may say, broadly speaking, every principle of action which is seen in GOD's natural kingdom will be found intensified in His supernatural kingdom.

Now, what is the nature of the authority we find in GOD's ordinary dealings with man? Take the laws of health as an example. Are they so clear, so positive, so minute, so dogmatic, that any man early instructed in them will be bound to attain perfection in health? We know quite well it is not so. We know that the laws of health are very general in their character. We know that the gospel of experience in this relation is really the only gospel worth listening to. One man's meat is another man's poison.



One set of rules which will be health and salvation to this man here, will be certain death to that man there. It has passed into a proverb that at forty every man is either a fool or a physician. In other words, he has to watch, to observe closely, in order to find out what is bad and what is good for him. He must think it out. The penalty of not observing, of not thinking, is swift and sure. His doctor may help greatly, but he cannot help beyond a certain point. No doctor can know a patient as a patient can know himself if he chooses. The conditions of health itself, the most priceless gift man has, cannot be taught upon an absolute authority.

Is not the same true of music and of the arts? It is quite true there are canons of good taste which must be followed. The great composers, the great painters, furnish the standard of good work. It is well we should be taught them. It is well we should be told, "You may not like this now; you must accept it as a standard, while you are being educated. Some day you will endorse the great canons of taste, of your own free will, and will thank those who kept you, at first against your will, it may be, from what

is vulgar and commonplace." But if music is to develop, and art is to progress, it is quite obvious this kind of authority must not be pushed too far, or it will kill genius and destroy all originality.

These canons of art and music are strictly analogous to the legitimate and gentle exercise of guidance and authority in the Church. But GOD has writ large upon them—press them not unduly : do not kill individuality and originality. Base your music and art exclusively upon the past canons of days gone by, upon authority, and it becomes wooden, mechanical, soulless. There has been too much of this. Music and art, no less than religion, have had their martyrs, who have revolted against undue authority and suffered for it. And is it not precisely this same view of authority in Government which, happily, we Anglo-Saxons have, as it were, by chance hit upon ? It is our strength, our glory. It must be admitted that it has within it the exaggeration of its own good qualities, but none the less it is our greatest heritage. The Englishman has a keen dislike of what he calls "grandmotherly government." He would not stand for a

moment the minute and very worrying police system which obtains in France, a country nominally the home of freedom, really one of the least free in the world.<sup>1</sup>

The Englishman wants authority to guide, to direct, to preserve him from making gigantic blunders, but most emphatically he wants as little of it as may be. He desires to govern himself and to let individuality have free play. He traces much of his unique capacity for colonization to his training in free institutions, and to the reserve with which necessary authority is exercised in his native land.

We may say, therefore, that the kind of authority which we have endeavoured to present as rightful authority in matters ecclesiastical appears to be in harmony with God's general method of authority in ordinary life. If the God of nature is the God of grace, we shall not be surprised to find something of the same kind in the world of religion.

(F) Certain very clear and helpful prin-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Holden's contrast is really between the English and the Continental systems generally. Of these France is not the best illustration.

ciples are suggested by this characteristic glory of the Church of England. She would say to all her children, "Learn to draw a very careful line of demarcation between what is *de fide* and what is not. Do not be for ever devising out of your own inner consciousness fresh articles of the Creed. Remember, truth which is necessary for salvation is perfectly clear, and may be found within the limits of the Apostles' Creed."

It is full of significance that at the most solemn moment in human life, when the soul is likely in but a short time to enter into the more immediate presence of God, the Church directs her priests to require a profession of faith, not in the grand measured utterances of the *Quicumque vult*, not even in the less redundant sentences of the Creed of Nicaea, but in the simple words of the simplest of all the Creeds, that called the Creed of the Apostles.

Her children would do well to weigh this fact, and, while holding fast their form of sound words, freely admit there is a vast range of theological speculation full of interest, full of help, in the spiritual life, but

short of *de fide* truth, and concerning which good Christians may legitimately differ.

And surely no less clearly does the Church of England say to all her children, "Be very careful to avoid all arrogance in your attitude to other religions or other forms of the one religion. If you are thankful, as well you may be, that it has pleased Almighty God to place you in this pure and apostolic branch of the one true Church, let your gratitude lead you to take a kindly interest in the religious opinions of those who worship the same God, love the same Saviour, and invoke the same Blessed Spirit. The more strong, firm, and clear you are in your own opinions, the more you can afford to be charitable towards those who cannot see as you see. Half the evils that have come upon Christendom have simply sprung from one set of Christians looking with contempt upon the opinions of others as conscientious as themselves."

And lastly, the Church would say in words of gentle warning to her children, "Do not expect in this life a solution of *all* the heavenly mysteries. Light enough for salvation, light enough to walk by, is revealed, and no more.

Follow that light : live up to it. The one condition of getting more light is to live up to the light you have. Be true to it in all things, but recognize that what we know is but as a little clearing on the edge of a vast, dark, impenetrable forest."

Christianity, it has been well said, is but a "chapel in the infinite." Mystery is in us, around us, in the food we eat, in the air we breathe, in the earth we tread, above us, beneath us. Is it likely that our religion, of all things in the world, will escape this universal law ?

Ponder the words of the wisest of her children :

"Howbeit because this divine mystery (the Incarnation) is more true than plain, divers having framed the same to their own conceits and fancies are found in their expositions thereof more plain than true."



## II

### COMPREHENSIVENESS

(A) **T**HERE is no more potent weapon in the hands of a Roman Catholic controversialist than the divisions of the Church of England. They are deep enough and wide enough, let us sorrowfully admit ; but they are not so deep and not so wide as our adversaries would make out. To a fair mind, moreover, there are enormous compensations to which I wish to call your attention in this lecture.

Before, however, we consider the subject in its positive aspect, it might be well to inquire how far the boasted uniformity of the Church of Rome is desirable, and how far, as a matter of fact, it exists.

On the surface—and it is, I am afraid, very largely surface impressions which influence faint-hearted Anglicans in this relation—the contrast between the two Churches is very marked. “Hardly in any two churches

is the service precisely the same as in my Church," says the bewildered Anglican, "while I am assured that in the Church of Rome in all essentials I shall find absolute unity. If I ask any of my own clergy in London a question as to the Faith, I shall probably get half a dozen different answers. I am assured that if I put a question as to the Faith to any Roman Catholic priest in England, Italy, France, Spain, or in any Christian country, I shall get the same reply. Is it conceivable that CHRIST could have intended such a city of confusion as the Church of England to be His mouthpiece? Is not this strange, almost miraculous, unity of the Church of Rome some proof to me that she is the one true Church?"

I am persuaded that considerations of this kind, which must have come into the minds of most thoughtful Church people at some time or other, and which are urged with intense force by the zealous members of the other Communion, have more to do with secession from the Church of England than anything else. Nor do I wish in the least to detract from the legitimate pride which Roman Catholics may take in the

wonderful uniformity which their Church presents, and which enables them, at any rate in democratic countries, to obtain fair play in matters like religious education. It is her glory, and there is much she has to teach our Mother Church, at all events in this respect.

And now, having said this, let us see if there is not a good deal to be urged on the other side.

1. You cannot press the mark of absolute unity as a credential of the true Church to the exclusion of other marks. There are four marks of the Church. She is One indeed, she is Catholic, she is Apostolic, but she is also Holy. If an *absolute* unity is required as a credential, why not an *absolute* holiness? Yet no one, least of all the Church of Rome, has required as an absolute mark the holiness of all her members. CHRIST Himself foresaw that this mark must of necessity be relative and not *absolute*. Certain of His parables are concerned with the prophecy that in the end there would be good and bad within the sacred body. The Donatist schism and its developments in the fourth century, against which the Church

protested with all her power, had as its basis holiness as an *absolute* mark of the Church. All who failed to come up to standard must be expelled. Instead of a wide-embracing society, a great school, a great training-ground, wherein of necessity there must be the more imperfect and the less imperfect, the Donatist conception of the Church was practically that of an exclusive club, composed entirely of good and approved people. Terrible nemesis came in the train of such a conception of the Church, into which we cannot now enter, such terrible nemesis as must always come when Christians forget the elementary warnings of their Master. If holiness in any absolute sense was not laid down as a final credential of the true Church by the Divine Head of the Church, it seems to me inconceivable that one mark, namely unity, should be singled out as absolute. What, we may well ask, is to happen if these two marks of unity and holiness come into conflict with each other? Suppose unity may be so pushed, as has indeed happened, to the neglect of holiness as to weaken the latter. The fact is that no one mark must be pushed to the detriment

of any other. In this as in all else the Spirit's fruit of self-control would secure beautiful harmony and proportion in the Church but for the perverse wills of men, who in their eager haste for perfectionism develop certain qualities out of proportion. I should hesitate to say whether the exaggerations of the Donatists in the fourth century in their conception of the mark of holiness were any worse than the exaggerations of the Papalists in the twentieth century in their conception of the mark of unity. If it be asked which mark our LORD would select should a collision occur between the interests of unity and holiness, if I read my gospels aright I have no hesitation in saying, that such is His intense love for each soul that He would subordinate unity to holiness. Unity seems to have been the closest thing to His heart save *one* thing. That one thing, the overwhelming mystery of which we shall never fathom, that individual love of God for each separate soul, a love so intense that it is almost frightening when we reflect upon it, impelled Him to teach His truth in such a way that the individual character should not be weakened. It would have been com-

paratively easy for Him to impart truth in such a way that there could have been no possibility of difference of opinion amongst His followers. He elected, so it would seem, to run the risk of disunion rather than secure uniformity by crushing character.

But there is really no need to raise the question, if each mark of the Church be developed harmoniously with the rest, if—may we not say it?—there is a statesmanlike recognition of give and take, a recognition that none of the marks are absolute, but only relative? Devotion to one mark of the Church seems on deeper reflection to be a sign not of strength but of weakness in the Roman Communion.

2. The one-sided pursuit of this object has led to some most deplorable results, only a few of which will it be possible for me to allude to, and which I bring forward with great reluctance.

I say nothing of the penalty which must always come when the rights of the individual are ignored. It is seen all too clearly marked upon some countries which are still under the sway of the Church of Rome. Progress has been stunted and dwarfed. Such a



result is inevitable wherever there is undue centralization, either in things secular or things religious. I doubt very much, for instance, whether any thoughtful historian would refuse to credit the Roman Church with a large share in the decadence of modern Spain.

It is a fertile topic, but we must limit an almost limitless subject and turn to two darker evils, which may directly be traced to the unwise striving after a more absolute form of unity than CHRIST appears to have allowed to His Church. The deplorable outbursts of fanatical persecution which have disgraced the Church of CHRIST, and which make us hang our heads with shame in the presence of the unbeliever, have had their origin in a ruthless determination to preserve the unity of the Church at all costs. Alas ! blood-guiltiness in religion may be charged against almost every section of Christendom of any standing, with the possible exception of the Quakers, who never had any chance of persecuting their fellow Christians. I make no *exclusive* charge of blood-guiltiness in the matter of persecution against the Roman Church, but I do allege that the principle

of persecution springs logically from her exclusive claims, that her area of persecution has been wider and more prolonged than that of any other Christian body, that the innermost depths of human depravity in the matter of refined ingenuity of torture have been freely sounded in her service, and that while other Christian bodies regret from the bottom of their hearts such disgrace to the fair name of CHRIST, she, most guilty of all, has never expressed one word of regret for her guilty past. How can she express regret, she whose proud boast it is that she never changes? If unity is to be maintained at all costs, how can she sorrow save at her failure even with such weapons?

But there is a darker stain yet which, in the desperate effort the Church of Rome has made to secure unity at all costs, she has not scrupled to bring upon her LORD and Master's good Name.

The Petrine claims around which this claim to absolute unity centres failed in absolute proof from antiquity. At all costs that absolute proof must be obtained. If it does not exist, then it must be created. The supply soon followed the demand, and

fraud and forgery did their work. The claim to absolute unity of the Church of the God of all Truth is made to rest upon forged documents. The great God of Heaven has need of a human lie to support His claims. Can there be any statement more sad? Yet such is simply the truth about the forged Decretals of Isidore in the ninth century, on which much of the claims of Rome in earlier days were based. They are given up now, admitted to be forgeries, well-intentioned forgeries, but they did their work, the gigantic structure reared on them has become an established fact, and the Papacy now attempts to justify its position on other grounds. Again, so far as I know, no word of regret has ever been uttered for an act which has brought grievous discredit upon the Christian profession.

3. This boasted unity which sometimes impresses our weaker brethren has been purchased at a terrible cost. It has spoilt the harmonious proportions of the other great marks of the Church, such as holiness. When we look at it a little closer, it has, as a mere matter of fact, to be taken with very large limitations. It is, with all its attrac-

tions, much more apparent than real, for it must always be remembered that practical expediency prevents the Church of Rome (to use a common expression) from "washing her dirty linen in public." It is only now and again that we get a glimpse behind the scenes. Her scandals, unlike ours, are generally hushed up, and a devout Roman Catholic will suffer a great deal rather than let scandal bring discredit on his religion. I respect the motive, but I doubt the expediency of this silence in the long run. Englishmen at any rate know the worst of the English Church. There is very little which is or can be hidden with us, and I suspect that the average common-sense Englishman would prefer the known evils of his own more open system than the unknown scandals which our astute brethren hide out of sight.

Now and again they are not able to save scandal, and we see a very unlovely picture, which I only venture to bring before you because I believe a considerable amount of this unity is mere pretence, and because it is necessary to expose a claim which is urged with great vehemence against the Church of

England, and which when examined fairly is seen to be much less forcible than people think.

I ask any reader who questions what I have said to give a patient examination to the whole of chapter fourteen in the second volume of Cardinal Manning's *Life*. The writer of that *Life* there says that second only to his belief in the infallibility of the pope was Dr. Manning's belief in the duty of keeping up at every hazard the appearance of unity of opinion amongst Roman Catholics. Cardinal Newman writes a letter (page 321) which might almost have been written about the differences of opinion in the Church of England; and as one reads it one is almost impelled to rub one's eyes and say, "Can he really be writing about the absolutely united Church of Rome?" The truth is that Roman Catholics happen to agree upon the definitions of things concerning which definitions we differ, but they differ quite as much as we do about other matters quite as important.

Nay, I think, without exaggeration, we can go even further than that. If you take a great central doctrine like the papal infalli-

bility, and inquire *when* does the pope speak *ex cathedrâ*, that is, with infallible authority, upon questions of faith and morals? you will get a great variety of answers from your Roman friends, according to their position as minimizers or exaggerators of the papal claim. Is he infallible *in personâ*, that is, not, of course, in his private capacity, but when he acts as pope? Is he infallible as the head of his College of Cardinals? Is there any occasion when, acting with his College of Cardinals, the infallible gift is more probably present than another? Is he only infallible as the presiding bishop, the mouth-piece, so to speak, of a General Council? Is his infallibility capable of acting in direct opposition to a General Council? You will get an almost infinite variety of answers to questions like these, on such an elementary point as *When is the pope infallible?*

In fact you may take any case, say a case of admitted error, as in the well-known endorsement of heresy by Pope Honorius, or the condemnation of Galileo in matters of science by a later pope, and ask, "Was his utterance infallible?" always with the reply "No," when the decision has been



proved by after events to be wrong. The whole theory is so shadowy and vague that it is no exaggeration to say it practically amounts to this—that the pope is infallible when he is proven right ; which no one questions, either in the pope or anybody else !

This unity, purchased at such a cost, has very much less of basis in actual fact than is generally supposed.

(*B*) Let us now look a little more closely into the alleged defect of the Church of England in this respect ; and, in order that we may not blink the issue in any way, let us look at it in its worst form. Things until lately have happily somewhat quieted down, but some of us remember with shame and grief the incidents which succeeded the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act in 1874.

Our Mother Church was torn in pieces by contending factions. Brother went to law with brother, and that in some cases before the unbeliever. Conscientious Churchmen committed equally conscientious priests to prison. The days of persecution, coloured

indeed by the milder manners of the nineteenth century, came upon us. The *odium theologicum* was seen at its worst in modern times. Two parties in the Church stood in hostile array, bent on mutual extermination, both in deadly earnest.

This is an extreme instance, I admit, and common sense soon changed the aspect of affairs ; but, extreme as it is, it does not approach the *unseen* evil of division. Party spirit, alas ! often paralyses Christian activity, it diverts money to strife and bitterness which should go to CHRIST's good cause, and not seldom it destroys all efforts to secure greater discipline in some of the ordinary organizations of the Gospel.

Nay, we may go further. Can any one doubt that if we were but at one, the Church could get her own terms on the Education question ? The foolish dread of " Sacerdotalism " and " Popery " we have seen by fatal experience can be played upon by the Secularist party to such an extent that panic-stricken Protestantism will betake itself to almost any allies in its desperation. No good is ever done by minimizing evils. The divisions in the Church of England

are deplorable from almost every standpoint. The bitterness of religious parties must be grievous to our Divine Master, not only in itself but in the terrible crop of anti-Christian qualities which follow in its train. Put it, then, at its worst. Call the Church of England a city of confusion far removed from the peaceful city of God, and then what can one say ?

1. I answer, first, by calling attention to some points which are indeed subsidiary, but none the less of great importance.

(A) At its worst, it is but a picture in the twentieth century of the Church of Corinth in S. Paul's time. It would almost seem that eternal truth is refracted through the medium of fixed types of character. "I am of Paul," "I am of Apollos," "I am of Cephas"—the party watchwords of the Corinthians of old, when analysed, are found to be very similar to party differences as we find them to-day in the Church of England, or for the matter of that in the Church of Rome. Nor can it be urged without great unreality that the differences in these early days cut less deeply into the life of the Church. The truth is all the other way. All three schools

of thought at present have in common the great fundamental truths of Christianity. Doubtless the points on which they differ are of vast importance : I am far from denying it. But one of the differences in the Corinthian Church was about no less vital a matter than the resurrection from the dead. It is *understating* the case to say we are no worse off than the Apostolic Church in party bitterness, and that the subjects on which we differ are not more important.

(B) Moreover, there is really more unity amongst the different schools of thought in the English Church than people would think who look at the question superficially. We are all apt to accentuate the points of difference, and to forget the far greater number of the points of agreement. The Nicene Creed provides a vast body of essential Christian truths, and the Nicene Creed is recited by all. Different schools of thought may differ widely as to whether Episcopacy is of the *esse* or only of the *bene esse* of the Church ; but all work under episcopal government. It is not a matter of conjecture but of certainty that, if different parties could be

got to define their terms, a vast body of agreement would be arrived at upon points which at present seem hopelessly opposed. Baptismal Regeneration, Eucharistic Sacrifice, the Real Presence, Sacerdotalism, these and other words are to a large extent *boggy* words, because they are undefined and sound dreadful to those who are not accustomed to them. I am convinced that they may be stated, without minimizing the great Christian truths they represent, in such a way as largely to remove hostility. It has been my good fortune to prepare a large number of Non-conformists for Confirmation, and I have found over and over again that the explanation of these words was quite sufficient to remove deeply-rooted prejudices ; and not only that, but to establish as perhaps amongst Christian truths most precious to the soul the great fundamental ideas which underlie them.

(c) Nor can it be ignored that of late years within the Church there has been an enormous change in the nature of the judgement which each party meets out to its opponents. The Spirit of Counsel has been outpoured upon the Church, and different schools of

thought have been brought together to learn both wherein they differ and wherein they agree ; but whether they differ or whether they agree, to learn also to respect the opinions of those who hold to their view of the one truth conscientiously. A very long step in the direction of unity has been taken when opposing schools of thought can be brought together and discuss their differences quietly. Church congresses, diocesan conferences, diocesan synods, these expressions of the spirit of counsel have brought parties together in a way that but few people realize.

(D) Let it also never be forgotten that if the existence of parties in the Church has its bad side—and I have tried not to hide this fact—there is also quite another side to the question.\* Parties, and even party spirit, in the Church as in the State, are not wholly bad things. Provided differences are not unduly accentuated, and people do not call each other “perjured traitors” and fly at each other’s throats, they carry with them an enormous amount of good. Within limits, emulation is as good a thing in religion as in athletics. It is gain to the cause of true



religion, if only from the fact that it stimulates interest in religious matters.

Foreigners laugh at us English because we are always discussing religious questions with such earnestness. I am afraid as a rule they themselves have not enough interest in religion to care about discussing it at all. I do not hesitate to say that I would rather have our parties, with the keen interest the English take in religious questions, than the cast-iron uniformity of the Church in France, with the sad stagnation of interest in religion which that country presents.<sup>1</sup> The English people at any rate cannot be described as devoid of interest in religion, which I think is more than can be said of our neighbours across the Channel.

(E) Moreover, there is a deeper and more adequate reason in explanation of the differences so sharply accentuated within the English Church. If any thoughtful man will admit that there is something to be said for the theory of the Church of England that she claims to be a Catholic Church, but that,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Holden was speaking in 1903. Since then a very real revival of religion has occurred in France, and the statement does not hold good in 1916.

like the great Church of the Russians, she expresses her Catholicity coloured and tinged by the God-appointed principle of nationality, then such an one must admit, after even a brief review of her history since the Reformation, that in this expression of Catholicity she has never had her chance until the present day.

The Catholic *character* was always there. There is a kind of apostolic succession of Catholic tradition in the English Church. Hooker, Andrewes, Ken, Taylor, Wilson, Keble express this continuity of thought; but the terrible reactions within the Church itself, the bitter persecution to which at one time she was exposed, the deadening influence of Erastian ideas upon her life, more often than not have driven the Catholic expression beneath the surface.

No one can doubt that Queen Elizabeth was a much better Churchwoman than she thought it politic to appear. Now and again she set her foot down and checked the Puritan tendencies within the Church, but even the great Elizabeth was controlled by forces greater than herself. She came to the throne in the midst of a tremendous revolt from the

cruelties of Queen Mary. Had Mary had the grace and wisdom to pursue a more conciliatory policy, the whole fortunes of the Church would have been altered. Probably there would have been no Puritan reaction under Elizabeth, and the Catholic expression of English Christianity, which has been in the Church of England all along, would have at once been fully manifested.

Alas, in the latter portion of Elizabeth's reign and during the greater portion of the reign of James I, in the most natural way Puritanism developed and stamped its unlovely mark upon the Church of England.

With Charles I and the Laudian School there came the dawn of better things. Laud's genius detected beneath the grim Puritan setting the true Catholic character of the Church of England, and he resolutely set about securing its expression. He all but succeeded. Then came the days of the Great Rebellion and the temporary overthrow of the Church in England. Once more, at the Restoration there seemed a fair prospect of the Church of England expressing her true character; but there were traitors within the camp. Not seldom in

history has the life of the State been ruined by the ill-advised marriage of its king. Charles I by his marriage jeopardized his crown, but events were to prove that he was exposing his Church to more insidious dangers.

A Roman Catholic Queen obtained influence over her royal children, and the two kings of the Restoration were Romanists in heart, only too ready to damage the fair cause of our English Mother Church.<sup>1</sup> Then came the Revolution and the spread of Latitudinarianism. The Georges completed the evil, and the poor English Church, despised by the State, dragged on a miserable existence masquerading as a Puritan sect.

Then later came the brighter days, in the glory of which we are now living, of the Oxford Movement, which had for its object this very thing of which we have been speak-

<sup>1</sup> Few Church historians would be found to agree with this estimate of the influence of Charles II's reign upon the English Church. That king, it is true, was a Romanist in heart, but it is also true, as Dr. Johnson said, referring to the bishops of his appointment, "Sir, the Church was never so filled as in his reign." Mr. Holden redresses the balance of this statement on p. 149 below.

ing—I mean the expression of what always existed, of the glorious truth that the Church of England is no mere offspring of the Reformation, but that she is the old Catholic Church of this land, purified and strengthened by her contact with modern ideas and modern knowledge of ancient truth.

The other view, however, was deeply rooted, and it required all the efforts of the most devoted men in the world to get a hearing. Is it any wonder, if there is any truth in this sketch of English Church history which I have put before you, that such a vindication of real but forgotten truth should cause deep searchings of heart and much division of opinion? The wonder would be if it were otherwise. We have had the joy of seeing this conception of the Church of England spreading far and wide, and bringing in its train life and light, where Church life was nigh unto death. This is the first real chance the English Church has ever had since the Reformation. She is using it most nobly, and another fifty years will show assuredly much less difference of opinion as to her Catholic claim.

2. These foregoing five reasons for di-

vision, and the light they throw upon it, are well worthy of careful consideration, but of course they are in the nature of the case subsidiary to a yet deeper reason. Party divisions loom large upon the history of the Church of England, because deliberately ever since the Reformation, or at least since the Elizabethan settlement, she has pursued an inclusive policy. The *Via media* clearly is one of her characteristic notes, and of course it inevitably suggests the question as to whether a *Via media* policy with its necessary note of compromise is right or wrong.

I must not stop to point out how fully in this the Church reflects the life of the nation. If the Church of England is mixed, it is at least true to say, with Bishop Creighton, that she is not more mixed than the English nation. Our very Constitution, which is so illogical and yet which works on the whole so admirably, our mixed Constitution of King, Lords, and Commons, is only one out of many signs as to this characteristic feature of the English people.

If there is anything of value in what has been said as to the Catholic Faith coming to

us tinged and coloured with national peculiarities, though ever one and the same in fundamentals, it is not to be wondered at that we should find this expressed very clearly in the Church of the English people. The *Via media* between despotism and democracy is writ large upon the State, similarly the *Via media* between Rome and Geneva is seen writ large upon the Church. The authorities in Queen Elizabeth's time, taking as a basis the Catholic Creeds, the two greater Sacraments, the Apostolic ministry, the old service books so far as might be, together with the old usages in ritual and holy days, distinctly went on the plan of *including* all they possibly could. As a consequence of that *inclusive* policy, there are the three great schools of thought within the English Church at the present time.

Some may say that they can admire such a policy as an example of great practical statesmanlike sagacity, but that, while it may be defended on grounds of practical expediency, in itself it is the reverse of a glory to the Church. It is somewhat startling to discover that this policy of the *Via media*, which some sneer at as the weakness of Anglicanism,



must have been more or less the policy of the Church in her early days. It was heresy which was always sharp and clear and crisp and strictly logical. It was heresy which was always in extremes either on one side or the other. It was the Spirit-bearing Body, the Church, which under the guidance of that same Holy Ghost carefully steered a middle course between the extremes of heresy, absorbing what was true on either side, and maintaining a carefully balanced proportion of doctrine and doctrinal expression.

An inclusive and not exclusive policy was so conspicuously the glory of the early Church, and therefore may fairly be considered the glory of the Anglican Communion, that I make no apology for giving at some length an extract from the late Professor Mozley,<sup>1</sup> which you will find in pages 41-43 of his famous essay on *Development* :

“In this way the logical controversy proceeded on the great doctrines of Christianity

<sup>1</sup> *The Theory of Development* (1878) by J. B. Mozley, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, 1871-78. Dr. Holland, Dr. Mozley's present successor, has called this “the historic passage . . . which every English Churchman, troubled by antinomies, ought to wear as a charm next his skin.”—*A Bundle of Memories*, p. 43.

in the first centuries : different sects developed these in their own way ; and each sect appealed triumphantly to the logical irresistibility of its development. The Arian, the Nestorian, the Apollinarian, the Eutychian, the Monothelite development each began with a great truth, and each professed to demand one and only one treatment for it. All successively had one watchword, and that was, 'Be logical.' Be logical, said the Arian : JESUS CHRIST is the Son of GOD ; a son cannot be coeval with his father. Be logical, said the Nestorian : JESUS CHRIST was Man and was GOD ; He was therefore two persons. Be logical, said the Apollinarian : JESUS CHRIST was not two persons ; He was not, therefore, perfect GOD and perfect Man too. Be logical, said the Eutychian : JESUS CHRIST was only one person ; He could therefore only have one nature. Be logical, said the Monothelite : JESUS CHRIST was only one person ; He could therefore only have one will. Be logical, said the Macedonian : the HOLY GHOST is the Spirit of the FATHER, and therefore cannot be a person distinct from the FATHER. Be

logical, said the Sabellian : God is one, and therefore cannot be three. Be logical, said the Manichæan : evil is not derived from God, and therefore must be an original substance independent of Him. Be logical, said the Gnostic : an infinite Deity cannot really assume a finite body. Be logical, said the Novatian : there is only one baptism for the remission of sins ; there is, therefore, no remission for sin after baptism.

“ Be logical, to come to later times, said the Calvinist : God predestinates, and therefore man has not free-will. Be logical, said the Anabaptist : the Gospel bids us to communicate our goods, and therefore does not sanction property in them. Be logical, said the Quaker : the Gospel enjoins meekness, and therefore forbids war. Be logical, says every sect and school : you admit our premises ; you do not admit our conclusions.

“ The whole dogmatic creed of the Church has been formed in direct contradiction to such apparent lines of consecutiveness. The Nestorian saw as clearly as his logic could tell him that two persons

must follow from two natures. The Monophysite saw as clearly as his logic could tell him that one nature must follow from one person. . . .

“To the intellectual imagination of the great heresiarchs of the early ages, the doctrine of our LORD’s nature took boldly some one line ; it demanded unity and consistency. *The Creed of the Church, steering between extremes and uniting opposites, was a timid artificial creation, a work of diplomacy.* In a sense they were right. The explanatory creed of the Church was a diplomatic work ; it was diplomatic because it was faithful. With a shrewdness and nicety like that of some ablest and most sustained course of statecraft and cabinet policy, it went on adhering to the complex original idea, and balancing one tendency in it by another. One heresiarch after another would have infused boldness into it ; they appealed to one element and another in it which they wanted to be developed indefinitely. *The Creed kept its middle course, rigidly combining opposites ; and a mixed and balanced erection of dogmatic language arose.*”

This weighty utterance, which will repay a very careful study, seems to suggest that if the Church of England has pursued an inclusive and not exclusive policy she is but following the example of the Early Church.

3. An inclusive policy is the glory of the English Church. In this she is like the primitive Church. But our glorious heritage in a policy of wide toleration goes deeper even than this. Underlying it is a generous recognition of *a wide diversity of Christian types of character*. Christianity, while it is for all people, is not for all people in any cosmopolitan sense. It deals with humanity as it finds it, coloured by national, social, and individual characteristics. It does not desire to throw all into one mould. A narrow and exclusive policy must tend to spoil character, to make it wooden, inelastic, cramped. The one truth comes to us refracted through the infinite and most beautiful diversity of our complex humanity. We would not have it otherwise. If Christianity is to destroy anything so distinctively human, it comes not as a blessing but as a curse.

Let us never forget that this is the witness of the Apostolic College itself. Our Blessed LORD deliberately did not choose all of one narrow type. To have done so would have been easy. Possibly, looking at the after history of the Apostles, the work might have gone more quickly forward. But CHRIST never purchased a temporary advantage at the cost of permanent loss. Knowing what was in man as none other ever did, He graciously desires to cherish everything distinctively human. Hence the widespread diversity of character amongst the chosen Twelve, and that Apostle, possibly the greatest of them all, called later on as "one born out of due time." There are those who see the divine truth by intuition, royal souls, happy in their certainty, who never seem to question, who soar eaglewise right up to the throne of God, like S. John the Evangelist. And there are those gifted with rare powers of mind, dowered with that Spirit of understanding which informs the human mind, those gifted with great dialectical skill, like the great Apostle of the Gentiles. And there are also types of human life which

CHRIST our Master claims, types not so happy, possibly not so great as those, but none the less dear to their Creator, types like the sceptical Philip, the gloomy, depressed, unbelieving Thomas, and (may we not say it ?) the keen, business-like Judas.

Yes : Comprehensiveness is the mind of CHRIST. He had no wish to reign over a narrow, dwarfed, stunted humanity. He was Man, and nothing human was to be alien to Him.

I said our thoughts went deeper as we ponder upon the mystery of division in the Christian camp. And is it not so ? May we not say it with all submission and reverence, but say it boldly and faithfully as those who have tried to understand the Master's mind, that at any rate CHRIST Himself may be said to have allowed it, at least in this sense that He might, had He so chosen, have prevented it by clearer statement and more explicit direction ? To take a concrete case. If the Petrine claims are true, if there is but one Church, and that the Roman Church, if to be external to that Church is to be external to CHRIST, and therefore to place our salvation in jeopardy,



then, in the words of a great modern preacher, may we not, must we not, claim the right of our manhood, and ere we be condemned claim five minutes' hearing? Why, if all this is a condition of salvation, is it not made more clear? why the reticence of Holy Scripture? why the silence of the earliest ages?

The divisions of Christendom may vex, hurt, and wound us. The unhappy divisions in our own dear Church may hinder much of her work, and call forth the scorn of her enemies; but he who trusts in CHRIST will, I think, take this trouble back to his LORD, and there leave it, knowing that in His inscrutable wisdom there must be some deep, wise, and true reason for it, otherwise (let us not shrink from saying it) the message itself would have been couched in such a form that good men could never have differed concerning either its import or its method of transmission.

(C) There are sundry very clear and very practical lessons which I must not omit if there is any weight at all in the reasoning of this lecture.

1. Let me begin by using it as a plea for a wide toleration within the limits of the Church of England. I said in an earlier part of the lecture that the existence of parties within a Church was far from being wholly bad, provided they did not fly at each other's throats. For some years happily there has been a truce amongst us. This is now threatened, and threatened from one side, and that the Puritan side. I sometimes smile when I hear people talking of the Puritans as the founders of civil and religious liberty. The amount of toleration they would give to opinion other than their own was shown by their treatment of the Church of England and her clergy at the time of the Commonwealth. This narrow and intolerant school of thought has lately had a revival, not only in the persons of ignorant fanatics whose doings have attracted far too much attention, but amongst those who ought to know better.<sup>1</sup>

It is well to remind ourselves that the wide toleration of the English Church is her glory

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Holden here refers to an agitation begun in 1897 which was only beginning to die down when these lectures were delivered.

and her strength, that it is perfectly easy but disastrous in the extreme for either side to call the other traitors, and to demand that the Church of England shall be exclusively moulded after its fashion. The Catholic school in the English Church have set a noble example of toleration. There is plenty of abuse in the way of defect, from which they might with ease construct weapons wherewith to strike at their adversaries. Hitherto they have not done so, and I hope sincerely they never will. Let each school learn to tolerate and to see the good points in other schools, and engage in a generous rivalry as to which shall do the most for that Master's cause which is dear to all ; and let all recognize that a wide latitude is a sign of strength and not of weakness ; and that, whatever be the merits of Home Rule for Ireland, Home Rule for the Church, for each parish, and even for each church in a parish, is a wise and enlightened policy.

2. No less clearly does the reasoning of this lecture, if it be true, point to the necessity of trying to understand the position of those who do not think quite with us upon Church matters.

Bitterness and anger and persecution in religion are generally the offspring of ignorance. If we are not able to agree with others in religion, provided we know their standpoint, we can at least respect conscientious conviction. I think we can do even more than this, if we know that behind even a strong and determined objection to our view there is a deep love for our LORD and a jealous regard for what is at any rate thought to be His honour. "Grace be with all those who love the LORD JESUS," we too can say, though we may differ widely as the poles as to our conception of His message or the manner of its transmission.

Orthodox Nonconformity forms a most interesting study to Church people in its various forms, and a careful investigation into its claims and position may be made in a spirit of charity without surrendering one jot or tittle of Church principle.

So may we not say that the same is true of the three great schools in the English Church? Each witnesses to eternal truth. The present writer has worked his way out of the narrowness of Evangelical thought to the glorious liberty of the Catholic Faith, but he has far

too vivid a recollection of the Christlike lives of many of his old friends, and far too precious a heritage of near and dear ones, who while on earth loved their LORD and are now with Him in Paradise, to entertain anything but the kindest thought of that great school in the English Church. Only no one school must claim exclusive possession of our English Mother. She is wider than are they, and has a care for all her children.

For my part, having closely studied the history of and the great truths peculiar to each school of thought, I should be proud to be described in earnest as a clergyman is represented as describing himself in jest in the pages of *Punch* as "an Evangelical Catholic of liberal views"; for it seems to me that the *Comprehensiveness* of the Church of England, for which her adversaries point at her the finger of scorn, is one of her most glorious characteristics.

### III

#### CONTINUITY

(A) BY historic continuity in the Church of England we mean that the Church of England is the modern representative of the Ancient Church of this country. It will be our duty to investigate carefully the various conditions of continuity ; but I pause at the very beginning to make a reflection. It can, I think, be shown that, whoever has any claim to this proud position, the Church of Rome has none. We may go further and say that the Church of England is the only real claimant in the field, and that if her claim is not admitted we must most sorrowfully conclude that the ancient *Ecclesia Anglicana* has died out for ever. Practically in this relation it is the Church of England or nothing. On the Roman Catholic hypothesis, the old English Church has died out and a new Church has had to be replanted from Rome.

If the reader will turn to page 223 of the *Life of Cardinal Manning*, he will find ample confirmation of these statements.

“The Catholic religion has existed in England from the foundation of the Hierarchy of St. Gregory the Great. I set aside the remnants of British Christianity wrecked by the Saxons, which were either absorbed in the Church of Augustine or died out in Wales. But the Catholic Church was extinguished when Elizabeth destroyed the Hierarchy. The religion survived, and a number of priests ; but the Church was gone. It was long without a bishop. Then it had a Vicar-Apostolic for England and Scotland. Then for long years no bishop at all. Then a Vicar-Apostolic or two, then four, and in this century eight ; then at last the Hierarchy of Pius IX. *From that Michaelmas Day, 1850, dates the Catholic Church in England, after three hundred years of ruin.*” (The italics are mine.)

Now set side by side with this statement the well-known words of Bishop Hall : “Be it known to all the world that our Church is only reformed or repaired, not made new : there is not one stone of a new



foundation laid by us : yea, the old walls stand still."

If the Church of England cannot prove continuity with the old *Ecclesia Anglicana* of this land, then, alas ! it has passed away, to our endless loss.

(B) Let us look closer into the question of continuity. We will begin (1) by asking what factors constitute the continuity of a nation, of a state ? In other words, what are some of the conditions which establish continuity between the England of to-day and the England of old days ?

The first and most obvious link is *continuity of language*. Of course such a test is to be taken with modifications. The English language of our day and generation probably differs more from the English of Chaucer than American English differs from our own tongue. Nevertheless, in word, in structure, in idiom, in grammar, everybody would admit there is present this interesting and vital factor of continuity in our common mother tongue.

The second great point in the continuity of a nation is, I suppose, *continuity of boundary*.

Obviously this also is to be taken with limitations, but with all its limitations it forms a very real principle of cohesion in the national life. One rule over the whole of the British Isles may have been long in coming. It may be admitted that over one portion it has not finally come even yet. At times the boundaries have extended far down into the south of France ; at other times the race has extended itself over the habitable globe. Again, the nation, as in the degenerate days of Charles II, may have shrunk to the smallest proportions ; but still the boundary of our national life has always been clear enough, though perhaps difficult to define.

A yet more certain sign of continuity which may, perhaps, be taken without any modification, is *continuity of law*. The statute-book is an expression of the continuity of the nation in concrete form.

*Continuity of custom*, while, perhaps, less certain, is a more obvious link. The quaint old formula of the royal assent to statutes, the national colour of scarlet, the curious garb of the judges, the thousand-and-one curiosities of municipal custom—these things, the delight of the antiquary, form a very

valuable link with the past, and ought not lightly to be discarded. The nation which ignores its past can hardly expect much from the future.

There remain two more prominent signs of continuity of national life which I cannot altogether pass by. There is *continuity of institution*. The framework of the Constitution, however easily it may have adapted itself to the varying English humanity with which it has to deal, remains in substance the same. The two great legislative chambers have their roots deep in the past ; while the monarchical principle, amongst many other advantages, supplies the nation with a golden thread of continuity, the value of which it is impossible to overestimate.

Lastly, there is *continuity of literature*, perhaps the most fascinating link of them all. The great Victorian writers stand in a kind of apostolic succession to the writers of the wonderful literary era of good Queen Anne, as do these latter worthies to the literary heroes of the Elizabethan epoch. English literature, right down to the earliest days, supplies us with one of the strongest evidences of continuity.

2. Before we apply these tests to the Church of England, let me briefly enumerate them, and then in passing call your attention to one note of continuity which must, from the nature of the case, be found in any true Church, and the absence of which must vitiate all the other claims. Language, boundary, law, custom, institution, literature—these are the six tests we are going to apply to our Mother Church; but it is obvious one further condition in a church is required which is not necessary in a state.

The church of a country, if nationality be God-given, will have her system coloured by national characteristics, but she is always something more than national. She is Catholic, part of a wider whole, part of a world-wide society. Now, it is obvious that a Catholic or world-wide society, from the nature of the case, must have something more tangible and durable than conditions which are good, useful, and admirable for national continuity, and valuable also so far as they go in determining ecclesiastical continuity. The golden thread of continuity which CHRIST gave to His Church is to be

found in the doctrine of apostolic succession. The Master breathed on the Apostolic College and gave them the apostolic commission. The Apostles in turn laid their hands upon those we now call bishops, but who are to all intents and purposes apostles. These again in turn laid their hands upon others, and so the wonderful succession has come down through two thousand years right on to the present day.<sup>1</sup> If this chain was broken in England at the time of the Reformation, although the Church of England could respond adequately to all the other tests stated above, it would avail her nothing. In such a case she would be simply a modern sect, without any Catholic claim, and (I can only add) it would be our duty to leave her. Her golden chain with the Church of the Apostles would be broken, and all these

<sup>1</sup> This statement of the doctrine of Apostolical Succession, in its external and tactual form alone, would require elucidation and expansion. There is an inward side to the doctrine which is not expressed here. In any case, the question of the method by which full continuity of this kind was preserved in the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic age could not affect the issue between England and Rome, unless the English Church were to commit herself to a theory of the ministry in which the historic episcopate ceased to be essential.

other links of national religious continuity would be as nothing.

It will be our duty later on to look in detail into the question of the validity of Orders. Meantime let us turn our attention to the tests of national continuity which we have been considering and apply them to the Church.

Taking it for granted that our Orders are valid, I think it will be admitted that the other tests, if satisfactory, bring enormous support to the position.

Let us look for a moment at the test of language. The old service books, it is true, were in Latin and ours now are in English, but there were special reasons then for the use of the Latin tongue. It must be remembered that Latin was very much *then* what French is *now*. It was the common language of intercommunication, and, moreover, it had the tremendous *prestige* of being the language not only of the great civil centre but the great ecclesiastical centre of the then known world. I believe at one time also Latin was the language of the court, that the pleadings in the courts of justice were drawn up in that tongue, and

that Acts of Parliament were drawn up in the same beautiful, sonorous, and flexible language. All this obviously does not affect in any way the continuity of these things. It was a temporary accident. But the people, long before the Reformation, who could read had their Gospels translated into their mother English, nay, in some cases, had their whole Bibles thus translated.

It would not be difficult to show a continuity of English Holy Scriptures right back from the Revised Version of to-day through the different great translations subsequent to the Reformation, to Wickliffe and Bede's renderings of the same sacred words. But I pass on rapidly to notice the wonderful witness there is in continuity of boundary. Needless to say, as the population of England has so enormously increased, the Church has had to re-adapt her system, and many changes of boundary have of necessity arisen. The neighbouring Diocese of Rochester is a case in point. Within living memory it has been altered to suit existing needs, and this is only one illustration of a continuous re-adaptation in that ecclesiastical centre. Many think it will have to be again divided if the



work of the Church is to develop as it ought. But though there have been changes in this and other dioceses, many and great, substantially continuity of boundary between the pre-Reformation Church and the post-Reformation Church has been maintained. To this day the Bishop of Rochester occupies an official relationship to the Primate as his cross-bearer, which dates from the very earliest times. The Bishop of London is *ex-officio* Dean of the Province of Canterbury, standing in this respect in relation to the province exactly where his pre-Reformation predecessors stood. I am told that the prebends of S. Paul's are still based upon their pre-Reformation positions, and that a glance at the estates of that great capitular body shows continuity with the Church of Anglo-Saxon times. I hardly know where to begin and where to end in this part of our subject. The old right of enthroning the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, which is inherent in the Archdeacon of Canterbury, is evidence of a continuity of function which I believe reaches back into very remote ages. In fact, broadly speaking, there is absolute continuity of boundary in

both provinces of York and Canterbury, in the dioceses contained in those provinces, and in the parishes contained in each diocese. The reformers had no intention of altering the old boundaries. They wished to get rid of abuses which had crept into the life of the Church from foreign sources, but at the same time to preserve the old Church on the old lines.

No less clearly is continuity of law revealed. I can only indicate in passing that the episcopate, the centre of jurisdiction in the life of the Church, both before and since the Reformation, finds its expression and action through the same officials. Archdeacons, rural deans, parish priests, these stand to-day in this relation as they have stood for hundreds of years.

The late Sir Robert Phillimore says—"It is not only a religious but a legal error to suppose that a new Church was introduced into the realm at the time of the Reformation. It is no less the language of our law than of our divinity, that the old Church was restored, not that a new one was substituted."

Until the unhappy Public Worship Regu-

lation Act of 1874, all the legal officials of the Church of England were witnesses to the same great principle of historic continuity.

It is, perhaps, when we come to consider continuity of custom that we are most impressed. Only ignorance can excuse those who allege that the various churchly customs have been dragged into light by the so-called High Church party, and used to bolster up a case. The truth is, the Church of England never in her authorized formularies gave the slightest countenance to Puritan innovation. Let any one who questions this read carefully the Fifth Book of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and he will there see, at the time of Queen Elizabeth, the old churchly customs defended against those Puritans who were busy then as now in trying to de-Catholicize our Mother Church.

Did the old Church before the Reformation keep the ancient fasts and festivals of Catholic Christendom? Then our English Mother, desiring in no wise to depart from ancient usages, enjoined her children to fast on Fridays, to observe Ember Days, Rogation Days, Advent, Lent, numerous vigils,

and the great Feasts of Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Whit Sunday, and Trinity Sunday.

Did the old Church before the Reformation keep to the ancient ways by paying due honour to the LORD'S Mother, an honour greater than that which is paid to any other saint? Then our English Mother, desiring again in no wise to depart from the old and good paths, bids her children honour S. Mary on her Nativity, on her Visitation, on her Annunciation, on her Purification.

Did the old Church pay honour to the saints of GOD by keeping their feasts? Then our English Mother places in her children's hands the long calendar of the holy ones of GOD, and singles out for special notice those old English saints whose names were honoured for hundreds of years before the Reformation, and whose quaint names are still commemorated in many a London church.

Did the old Church witness to the principle of the Incarnation, to the self-imposed limitations of the limitless GOD, as it finds its expression in the consecration of particular persons, places, and things? Then our

English Mother Church thought it right to perpetuate the same holy rites ; and to this day consecrates her bishops, her churches, her sleeping places for the faithful dead.

But where can one stop in the consideration of so vast a subject ? The Ornaments rubric secures the retention of the ancient ecclesiastical vestments and other ritual adjuncts. At his coronation the sovereign was arrayed in vestments which are distinctly ecclesiastical in their origin, and which have been in use without interruption from times long prior to the Reformation. At the coronation of George II incense was used, while, as is well known, it is still offered year by year at the Chapel Royal, though with characteristic English logic it is no longer burnt. While the use of the mitre for the bishop temporarily lapsed, at any rate as far as its proper use is concerned, and has only lately been restored by certain more courageous prelates, the cope, its accompanying ornament, never passed out of usage. Our forms of liturgical worship, the ring, the joining of hands, the blessing in marriage, the churching of women after childbirth, the sign of the Cross in Holy Baptism, the

obligation to communicate at Easter, the fast enjoined upon those who are baptized in later years, the lights upon the Holy Altar, the very terms with which we address our bishops and archbishops as "Right Reverend Father in God" or "Most Reverend Father in God," the use of the surplice—all these and many others which might be mentioned, some of them trivial enough, others of graver importance, but all of value as evidence, point to one and the same conclusion—there is continuity between the Church before and since the Reformation. The customs and usages of the Church of England then as now are Catholic. If to this there be added one further very important point, that her conception of the Christian ministry is essentially sacerdotal, that any Roman Catholic priest joining the Church of England now has not to be re-ordained because he is a *sacerdos*, while every Nonconformist minister must submit to episcopal ordination because he is *not* a *sacerdos*—I say that, as far as circumstantial evidence can go, it is pretty clear that there is no difference in essence between the Church of England in post-Reformation

times and the Church of England in her earlier days.

Continuity of institution only comes in to strengthen all this. It would be easy to collect a vast mass of evidence from the proceedings of Convocation, from the forms with which it is summoned, from the franchise on which it is based, from its quaint usages, from the cathedral bodies, their relation to their estates, their statutes, their constitutions, the names of their canonries and other dignities, from the two Universities, for so many years happily closely associated with our Mother Church, from the payment, the obligation, the distribution of tithe all over England. From all of these absolute continuity of institution might be shown.

Only one custom widely prevalent before the Reformation is conspicuous by its absence. There is now no opportunity of appeals to the Papal Court. Later on in this lecture it will be our duty to point out that the English Church was always restive under papal exactions, that there is abundant evidence to show she was perpetually resisting them, that the Reformation was merely the culminating point in the struggle, and



that Henry VIII, at any rate, so far as throwing off the yoke of the Papacy was concerned, was a patriot king. With the solitary exception of the restraint of appeals to Rome, the institutions of the Church are practically the same and have been continuous.<sup>1</sup>

I cannot pass by the question of continuity of literature without a brief word. It goes without saying, of course, that since the Reformation there has been a wonderful continuity of devotional literature in the Church of England. And inasmuch as the great ages of literary activity in England have been since the rise of the New Learning, it is quite obvious that the main lines of literary continuity must be traced during the last three hundred years. No church has been more blessed with a beautiful devotional literature than the Church of England. There has been a generous outpouring of the Holy Spirit in this relation for which we cannot be sufficiently thankful. Yet I cannot let pass without a word the topic of our

<sup>1</sup> This statement needs more qualification; e.g., until the Dissolution of the Religious Houses, 1536-40, the presence of the greater abbots and priors in the House of Lords gave the spiritual peers a majority there.

Book of Common Prayer, as the lineal descendant of the older service books of our Mother Church. We are coming now to see, perhaps, that the concentration of so much in one book was a mistake, and that there has been distinct loss in aiming at uniformity. The Church of England in her best pre-Reformation days was not uniform, any more than she is now ; and it is a great mistake, I think, to try and enforce uniformity. Elasticity is her strength, and in my judgment it would be no bad thing if a new reformation led us back to the various discarded uses of Sarum, Bangor, Hereford, and York. Be this as it may, no one can closely study the Prayer Book without seeing at once that it is no new book. It reaches back and owes its very best portions to the old prayer books of our English Mother Church. Most of the collects, to select one instance out of many, are merely translations from the old. I think a critical eye can almost detect and contrast the old restrained but replete language of some of the collects with the greater redundancy of some which were composed at the Reformation. The beauty of the Prayer Book emphatically is

due to its ancient portions, and its ancient portions form by far the larger portion of the book. The modern Prayer Book is in historic succession to the ancient devotional literature of the Church.

Obviously, all this is only confirmatory evidence. The real question of continuity in the Church of England must centre round the great question of her ministerial succession. Apostolic succession is the golden thread which binds the English Church of to-day both to her own spiritual ancestors prior to the Reformation and to the early Church. If this is not so, then all is lost; the Church of England is merely a modern sect, and the sooner we leave her the better. Thank God, there is no such terrible alternative before us. No orders in Christendom have been examined with such minuteness, in the hope of finding a flaw, as those of the Church of England. No orders have stood the test so well. It may well be that, if the orders of other Churches of Catholic Christendom were examined with similar care, they would come out as strong, but the test has never been applied. I do not hesitate to say that, as far as has been dis-

covered, I believe the case for Anglican Orders to be stronger than those of any other orders in Catholic Christendom.<sup>1</sup>

We cannot too carefully distinguish between the Reformation on the Continent and the Reformation in England. The great protest of the sixteenth century in England was directed against the usurped papal jurisdiction, not against the Ancient Catholic ministry and belief. It was a resolute national determination, headed by the king, to throw off the foreign yoke, which had become a burden beyond bearing. There was not the slightest idea of setting up a new church, or of creating a new kind of ministry, or a fresh spiritual discipline imported from Geneva.

Of course, if the separation from the papal see implies the creation of a new church and a new ministry, the question falls

<sup>1</sup> In the statement in the text lurks a logical fallacy which, if Mr. Holden had been writing and not preaching, he would have been swift to detect. For if "no Orders have been examined with such minuteness," it is obvious that no other Orders could stand the test so well, since they have never been exposed to it. The vindication of Anglican does not require the disparagement of other Orders.

to the ground. We reply : Communion with Rome was not the test of unity in the earliest days, and that there are millions of Catholic Christians in the East who never have admitted any such test.

Let us put an analogous case. The Church in Australia, at the present day, venerates the English Mother Church and, in particular, the See of Canterbury. Very frequently questions are referred home to that ancient see for settlement or advice, and not seldom the Archbishop is requested to provide bishops for the Colonial Church. The connection between mother and daughter Church is most harmonious, and it is mutually beneficial. But suppose a change took place. Suppose the Archbishop of Canterbury were to lay claim to absolute final jurisdiction over the Australian Church; suppose that, in addition to a claim of absolute jurisdiction, he foisted prominent members of the home clergy into the best livings in Australia ; suppose, above all, he laid claim to an absolute infallible voice which should finally decide all questions of faith and morals ; and suppose the Australian Church, after repeated protests, which were

never attended to, and, after grave deliberation, said, "It is a matter of the deepest regret to us, but this is more than we can stand; we must cut the painter which binds us to the old English Church"—is there any one so foolish as to assert that then the Australians would set up a new church and a new kind of ministry? This analogy is in many ways very close indeed to that of the Church of England and the Papacy, at and since the time of the Reformation.

It is forgotten, moreover, that Convocation is largely responsible for the separation, and that, at any rate in the reign of Henry VIII, many of the higher ecclesiastics who were absolutely against any doctrinal reform were quite as strong as the king in insisting that the papal jurisdiction must cease.

On February 11, 1531, the Convocation of Canterbury unanimously recognized the king as supreme head of the Church in England so far as the law of CHRIST allows. This was ratified in the York Convocation with but one dissentient voice. No doubt it is true that by Acts of Parliament, such as those of 1534, this ecclesiastical repudiation of the yoke of the foreign bishop was pro-



tected as the law of the land, but this was merely giving civil sanction to the tremendous step which the Church in her Convocations had taken already.

The very slightest acquaintance with English history makes it quite clear that such acts restraining the encroachments of the Papacy were very common in England. The Constitutions of Clarendon in the year 1164, the Statute of Mortmain in 1279, the Statute of Provisors, above all the Statute of Praemunire, both in the fourteenth century, all point in this direction.

Ever since the Norman Conquest the Island Church had been struggling against a foreign yoke, which year by year grew tighter and tighter, until at last the pent-up feelings of the English people burst forth, and the bonds were swept away never to be restored.<sup>1</sup> The great repudiation was no

<sup>1</sup> Recent historical research, since Mr. Holden wrote, would hardly justify the strong statements in the text. There is very little evidence of directly *anti-papal* feeling in the early sixteenth century (instances of it are given by Prof. A. F. Pollard in his *Life of Cranmer*, pp. 21, 28), though there was a certain amount of *anti-clerical* feeling. See Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation*, i. pp. 1 ff. The words in the text, "never to be restored,"



sudden isolated act, it was the outcome of years of strenuous revolt. It had one object, and one object only. The English people are not now, and never were, a theological people. At the time of the Reformation they extracted just enough theology to get rid of the pope. That was the practical object of this very practical people ; they had no other intention. The old Church was to go on in the old ways, minus this particular point. The old ministry was to remain ; but the king, acting through the spirituality, was to be the final court of appeal in ecclesiastical causes, and emphatically appeals to Rome must cease.

Henry's question to Convocation shows clearly what was primarily in his mind. His subsequent stern repression of doctrinal reformers makes it absolutely clear. "Hath," he asked, "the Bishop of Rome any more authority in England than any other foreign bishop?" With the excep-

are not strictly accurate, for the papal jurisdiction was restored by Act of Parliament in 1554 and lasted until 1559. But it ought not to be forgotten that the sixteenth century changes were carried through by men who had been educated under the old system.

tion of Bishop Fisher they answered unanimously, "No."<sup>1</sup>

There is extant a very striking letter from Bishop Tonsal, of Durham, who cannot be accused of any doctrinal sympathies with the Reformation, addressed to Cardinal Pole, which throws all this into very striking relief, and confirms what has been said as to the attitude of many higher ecclesiastics at this time. They desired to overthrow the Roman yoke, but nothing else was to be altered.

<sup>1</sup> There seems some confusion in the text between the acceptance of the Royal Supremacy and the rejection of the Papal jurisdiction in the period 1531-1534. Bishop Fisher was utterly opposed to the spirit of the changes of Henry VIII, but he accepted the declaration of Convocation that the king was Supreme Head "after God, so far as the law of CHRIST allows" (Feb. 1531). The question as to the Roman jurisdiction came later, and it was put to the Convocations in a more carefully worded form than that in the text "Whether the Roman pontiff has any greater jurisdiction bestowed upon him by God in the Holy Scriptures in this realm of England than any other foreign bishop"? The Lower House of Canterbury answered No, but not unanimously. The figures were: Noes 34, Doubtful 1, Ayes 4 (Gee & Hardy, *Documents*, etc., 251). No record remains of Bishop Fisher having been in a minority of one in the Upper House. He was too ill to be present in March, 1534.

The old Church was to go on in the old ways. "It has all along been his (Henry VIII) practice to adhere to the unity of the Catholic Church, to maintain the ancient doctrine, and to conform to the worship and ecclesiastical government of the rest of Christendom. It is true that he has rescued the English Church from the encroachments of the Church of Rome, but if this be singularity he deserves commendation, for the king has only . . . helped the English Church to her ancient freedom."<sup>1</sup>

I must give one more quotation before we pass on to a closer examination of the question of continuity of ministerial succession. It is from an independent source, but it shows what an intelligent Unitarian like the late Mr. Charles Beard thinks on the great question of historic continuity. In his Hibbert Lectures he says: "There is no point at which it can be said, here the old Church ends, here the new begins. . . . It is an obvious historical fact that Parker

<sup>1</sup> For the correspondence between Tonstal and Pole in 1536, see Dixon, *History of Church of England*, i. 441, 599.

was the successor of Augustine just as clearly as Lanfranc and Becket.”<sup>1</sup>

At the time of the final great protest against the papal jurisdiction it is historically true that the vast proportion of the clergy accepted the situation. The truth is that the broad dividing-line between the Reformation in England and the Reformation abroad was not merely the very definite determination to preserve the old religion minus the pope, but no less clearly the determination that all reform should spring from the Church itself from within.

Before we go a little more closely into the question of the validity of the main line of Anglican Orders, as it comes down to us through Matthew Parker, the archbishop of Elizabeth's earlier reign, it is important to notice that, supposing this strand failed, there is a further line of defence, which seems to me at all events to be impregnable, as to the claim of the Church of England to trace back the spiritual descent of her ministry to the Apostles.

<sup>1</sup> The Hibbert Lectures, 1883. *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*, 4th ed., 1903, p. 311.

The present Anglican Episcopate may be said in one sense to trace back its succession to Archbishop Laud, the martyred archbishop of Charles I. I wish to show this a little in detail, for there centred in Laud not only the old English strand of orders from Matthew Parker, but above and beyond this two other strands of orders.

At the time of the Commonwealth the Church was overthrown, and for seventeen years her bishops and clergy wandered homeless either in England or abroad. In 1660, at the restoration of Charles II, there were discovered eight prelates surviving. These were Juxon of London (who attended Charles I on the scaffold, and who was at once made Archbishop of Canterbury), Frewen of York, Duppa of Winchester, Wren of Ely, King of Chichester, Skinner of Oxford, Warner of Rochester, and Roberts of Bangor.

All of these, except King and Frewen, were consecrated by Archbishop Laud. King and Frewen were consecrated by Juxon while Laud was in prison, and he in turn had been consecrated by Laud. Hence we may trace the whole eight back to Laud.

This lends a special interest to Laud and the bishops who consecrated him. Let us look into Laud's consecration more closely.

I find on turning to an admirable little book on this question called *Apostolic Succession*, by the late Rev. and Hon. A. P. Perceval, a full statement as to Laud's consecration. I wish to express here my deep indebtedness to this admirable little book, and to express my great regret that it is now out of print. Mr. Perceval has drawn up elaborate tables of all the bishops consecrated since the time of Cranmer, who was, as is well known, consecrated with pre-Reformation rites.

William Laud was consecrated November 15, 1621, by no less than six bishops. Three out of the six who consecrated Laud have a very special interest. I give their names: George Montaigne, Bishop of London, Nicolas Felton of Ely, and Theophilus Field of Llandaff. Montaigne and Felton were consecrated December 14, 1617, amongst others by Marco Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato in Italy.<sup>1</sup> There is no time to go into the history of

<sup>1</sup> 1566-1625. He was in England, 1616-22.

this Archbishop of Spalato : it is a curious history, and he had a sad and cruel end. Suffice it to say, he was a Roman Catholic archbishop who came over to England in the reign of James I, joined the Church of England, was made amongst other things Dean of Windsor and Master of the Savoy, and assisted at the consecration of Montaigne and Felton, who in their turn consecrated Laud. Laud was then a kind of ecclesiastical grandson of this Roman Catholic archbishop. In other words, there centred in Laud the old Roman Catholic succession, and therefore there is in our present bishops the Roman Catholic strand of orders.

But the interest of Laud's consecration does not end here. He was consecrated also by Theophilus Field, Bishop of Llandaff. What is the interest of Laud's consecration by Field ? Field himself was consecrated October 10, 1619, amongst others by George, Bishop of Derry, an Irish bishop. In other words, Laud was a kind of ecclesiastical grandson of an Irish bishop. There centred in Laud the old Irish succession, concerning whose validity, so far as I know, there has



never been any question, and therefore there is from Laud in our present bishops the Irish strand of orders.

Now I must carry your thoughts back to the old strand of English Orders whose validity centres round the question of the consecration of the first Elizabethan Archbishop, Matthew Parker. The Papal Bull on Anglican Orders has at least done one great service. It has removed the question indeed to a deeper and more subtle issue, but at the same time it has relieved Anglicans of a great deal of very wearisome and technical work as to whether as a matter of fact Matthew Parker was ever consecrated, and as to whether all who consecrated had in any sense episcopal orders. These two contentions, let us say it thankfully, may now be regarded as outside the issue. Formerly it was one of the great points in debate. The present writer has a vivid recollection of attending as an undergraduate at Oxford Dr. King's lectures on the Ordinal, and there making most careful notes as to the evidence for Matthew Parker's consecration. It was of immense importance then to have accurate information, for all sorts of fabri-

cations on the point were widely circulated by our adversaries.

By some of the more disreputable it was even alleged that Parker was consecrated (if at all) in the Nag's Head Tavern in Fleet Street, by Bishop Scory, who is stated merely to have performed the sacred act by laying a Bible upon the ordinand's head. It was also formerly alleged that Barlow, one of the consecrators of Parker, had himself never been consecrated. These very un-historical, and I must add with reluctance most disreputable weapons of controversy, may now, I think, be regarded as dropped. It has indeed taken us two hundred years and more to induce the controversialists of the Roman Church to give up this questionable mode of attack. It is the one gain of the recent papal utterance that we may now bury the Nag's Head fable, and the alleged deficiency in Barlow's position, along with other worthless lies. Practically it is now not questioned that the act really took place.

The questions which are now raised are different. It is asked, "Were the actions and words used at Parker's consecration adequate?" Were the persons acting com-

petent to act ; that is, were they, in any real sense of the term, bishops ; and were the acts seriously done, that is, had they the right object in view, or, to express it more technically, was the *intention* adequate ?

It is not questioned that the outward actions were adequate. The Roman theologians would be indeed bold if they made anything but the laying on of hands the *essential matter* in ordination. The words used, or as they are technically called the *form*, are questioned, but in the light of recent admissions they seem to be questioned not so much as being inadequate in themselves but as being inadequate in the light of supposed deficiency in *intention*. The discussion gets more and more subtle every day, and if the subject were not so serious the Anglican defenders might almost contemplate with exulting delight the shifts and impossible subtleties to which they have driven their opponents.

It is necessary to enter into this question a little more deeply, because it has such an all-important bearing upon the point of continuity, not that from our point of view there is the slightest good purpose to be served

in relation to our Roman brethren. The present writer is absolutely and finally convinced that no evidence would satisfy the Roman authorities. I do not believe if an angel appeared and proclaimed the absolute validity of our orders, that the Romans would accept the statement.<sup>1</sup> They are determined that at all costs Anglican Orders must be condemned, and condemned they will be to the end of the chapter. To admit their validity would be absolutely fatal at once to the well-being of the Roman propaganda in England, to their action in re-ordaining in the past, and to their claim to infallibility.

I have no desire to enter into any controversy in this lecture ; and if I follow the objections raised by the Papal Bull, it is merely because the line there followed states the final objections in convenient form, and a refutation of these objections should settle the whole question.

Practically, these final objections take shape under two main heads : (1) An ob-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Holden speaks of the Roman authorities. Individual Roman Catholic scholars have thought it not impossible that Anglican ordinations might be valid. See Lord Halifax's *Leo XIII and Anglican Orders*.

jection as to the form being inadequate; and (2) an objection as to the intention being inadequate. A third point, which has been raised since—that the form is inadequate because the intention is inadequate, and the intention is inadequate because the form is inadequate—I decline as a reasonable being to discuss.

1. I will ask you first to consider very briefly the alleged deficiency in form. It is necessary to point out that the word *form* has a technical meaning: it is used to denote the *words* which are used by the officiant in the conferring of Holy Orders. The ordinal of Edward VI, which was used at the consecration of Archbishop Parker and others, is alleged to be deficient in form, on *two* grounds.

(a) In the reformed Ordinal of Edward VI of 1559 for the consecration of a bishop, the words used by the archbishop are: "Take the HOLY GHOST, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by the imposition of hands." These words, at the revision of the Prayer Book in 1661, were expanded into "Receive the HOLY GHOST *for the office and work of a bishop.*"

A similar expansion also took place in the words used at the ordination of a priest. The Roman theologians draw from this the deduction that this lack of specification of the office to be conferred vitiates the form, and that the fact that at the Restoration it was found necessary to expand the form shows that we ourselves were conscious of a deficiency. As we shall shortly show, the contention is of little worth ; but—

(*b*) There is also alleged to be a deficiency in form in the Edwardine Ordinal for the Priesthood, because there is no specific mention of the *sacerdotium*. It is a very significant example of the methods of some modern Roman controversialists that in the authorized English translation of the Papal Bull the word *sacerdotium* is left in its original Latin. The reason is not far to seek. Had they translated *sacerdotium* by the word “priesthood,” as they ought to have done, and made the Bull say there was no mention of “*priesthood*,” they would have stood condemned ; for any average Englishman opening the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI would have found the office of priesthood mentioned over and over again.

The particular function in the *sacerdotium* or priesthood, the *mentioning* of which they say is essential, is the bestowal of power to offer sacrifice.

The Reformers in England may have had good reason for leaving out a specific function which they considered had been notoriously abused ; but again I say it is significantly characteristic of the curious methods of the Roman Theologians concerned that they omit to notice that another function of the priesthood, viz. Absolution, is specifically mentioned in the Edwardine Ordinal by the words "whose sins thou dost remit," etc.

Now, what is one to say in reply to all this? One almost apologizes for saying anything at all to an attack so weak and so easily refuted. It is only our point of continuity which impels me to say a few words in order to show you the worthlessness of this the final attack upon our Orders. For—

1. The Church does not ordain to any *particular function* of the priesthood, but to an order which contains within it *all the functions*. It may be a good thing, or it may not be, to mention (as in our Ordinal) the particular function of the priesthood in



Absolution, or the particular function of the priesthood in offering Sacrifice, as in the modern Roman Ordinal. I do not express any opinion ; I merely say the specifying of particular functions is not necessary. Let me repeat, the Church ordains to an order, and not to any particular function in that order.

2. The whole of the services show clearly that a particular office is to be conferred, whether of bishop, priest, or deacon. Let any person read carefully through the services, and he will see this. The service actually begins with the words "Reverend Father in God, I present unto you these persons present, to be admitted deacons," or priests, or bishop, as the case may be.

3. In the case of the Edwardine Ordinal for the Consecration of a Bishop, we may say that the indication as to office is even stronger than in any other ordinals, not excepting that of Rome itself, for the words used are, "See that thou stir up the grace," which is a quotation from S. Paul, universally held at that time to refer to S. Timothy's consecration to the episcopate.

4. A very large and learned school of

theologians in and out of the Roman Church holds that the *proper* form is not to be sought for at all in the words uttered by the officiant at the imposition of hands, but in the *prayer* that God would make the candidate a bishop, priest, or deacon, as the case may be.

5. It can be pretty certainly demonstrated that the expansion of the words in 1661 had nothing whatever to do with the controversy with Rome, but with the Presbyterians and other sectaries.

6. We need not be in the least ashamed of the *form* used in the Edwardine Ordinal. The words used are simply the ordination form of our Blessed LORD Himself.

7. As we proceed, we are more and more astonished. Rome herself has recognized orders conferred with the simple form, "Take the HOLY GHOST," without specification of the particular order. In 1734 this was done in the case of the Coptic Church, and the decision was confirmed in 1860.

8. But to our utter amazement, when we turn to the Roman Ordinal at the present day, *mirabile dictu*, there is no mention in the *proper form* of sacrifice or of the power

of offering sacrifice. We rub our eyes when we read this, and say, "Has the pope, then, made the most stupid blunder on record? Has he condemned his own priests at the present time along with ours?" No, not such a patent blunder as that; no one would be so stupid. At a later period in the Roman Office there comes the *Porrectio Instrumentorum*, i.e. the delivery of the Chalice and Paten to the ordinand, with the commission to offer sacrifice. It looks as though the deficiency in the *proper form* of the Roman Ordinal were supplied later in the service. This consideration, however, will not save the Roman authorities responsible for the Bull on Anglican Orders from a very bad blunder.

It is, unfortunately for them, historically true beyond question that for 1000 years *there was no Porrectio Instrumentorum in the Roman Ordinal*. If the pope's contention against Anglican Orders is a valid one on the ground of deficiency of *form*, it is equally valid against the orders in his own Church for 1000 years, and consequently, on his own showing, the Roman Church has no orders now!

It is beyond dispute that in the ancient ordinals the simpler form prevails, and that there is no mention of the specific function of the priesthood regarded by the Roman authorities as essential, viz. the commission to offer sacrifice for quick and dead.

But now let us see whether the pope's *second* contention has any more weight. He objects to our Orders on the ground, not only of deficiency in *form*, but of alleged deficiency of *intention*. Even if the form had been adequate, it is said, the Reformers did not *intend* to pass on the Orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in any real sense of the term. They retained the old names, but created a fresh kind of ministry midway between the old sacerdotal order and the Protestant ministries of their day.

There is a view of intention which all accept, which virtually amounts to this—that the ministers of any sacrament should have a *serious purpose* in what they are doing, that religious ceremonies should not be performed in a frivolous, careless manner, or by some accident. The old way of expressing it—that there must be a general intention of doing what the Church intends—covers

all this. The pope questions virtually the intention of the Church of England to pass on the old orders, and therefore the intention of the particular bishops who passed on those orders. This is easily met, as we shall see in a moment. I am afraid, however, it is but too true to say that if this objection is met, the opponents of Anglican Orders will betake themselves to searching into the private theological opinions of some of the bishops—as for example, Cranmer—and will raise objections based on deficiency in intention in its more private or personal sense. At all costs Anglican Orders must be condemned. Reasons will soon be produced. But for the moment it is urged that there was a lack of intention in the bishops of that day because they were exponents of a Church which itself had no intention of passing on the old orders.

The answer is very simple, and each reader can verify for himself by merely turning to the preface to the Ordinal in our Prayer Book. There the clear mind of our Mother Church on this point may at once be ascertained. To me it is nothing short of marvellous that the English Reformers should have

so manifestly had the divine guidance. In that transitional period they might so easily have been wrongly advised. They seem to have been overruled so to express themselves as absolutely to meet this the latest attack upon Anglican Orders. Hear what they say :

“ It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient authors, that from the Apostles’ time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ’s Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Which offices were evermore had in such reverend estimation that no man might presume to execute any of them except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as are requisite for the same, and also by Public Prayer with Imposition of Hands were approved and admitted thereunto by lawful authority.

“ And, therefore, to the *intent* ” (the very word happily is used) “ that these orders may be continued ” (no idea of changing the old sacerdotal system) “ and reverently used and esteemed in the Church of England, no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful bishop, priest, or deacon in the Church of England, or suffered to execute

any of the said functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto according to the form hereafter following, or *hath had* formerly episcopal consecration or ordination" (again observe carefully, there is not the slightest hint of breaking with the past).

I submit that to any fair-minded man this is absolutely convincing as to the general intention of the Anglican Church. We must not labour the point further. The Orders of the Church of England, whether you regard them from the standpoint of Laud in Charles I's time or of Matthew Parker in the time of Queen Elizabeth, or of early times, will bear any reasonable test you like to apply to them.

Continuity with the Church of our forefathers is a characteristic glory of the Church of England. Her bishops stand in line with the Apostles, and can trace their descent from both the mediaeval *Ecclesia Anglicana* and from the Apostolic College in the first ages.

I cannot conclude this lecture without uttering a word of warning to those who imagine that her Protestant aspect is the main characteristic glory of the Church of



England. Some of our evangelical friends are at present strenuously engaged in a movement which has for its object the overthrow of the Catholic movement in the Church of England. They are not in the least degree likely to succeed. We are far too strong to be overthrown by a hundred Acts of Parliament. People might just as well try to stem the incoming tide as to stem the great movement which has transformed the Church of England. The Catholic movement has come to stay, let no one make any mistake. The clergy are as ready now to go to prison for the great Catholic doctrines as they were twenty years ago.

This anti-ritualistic movement is foolish in the extreme from this standpoint. It cannot succeed. The miserable fiasco of the Public Worship Regulation Act will only be repeated. It is, however, much more foolish from another and a totally different standpoint, which to me is so clear a point of view that I am amazed at the folly of our friends. The anti-ritualistic movement so completely plays into the hands of the Church of Rome, it so completely serves her purposes, that many of us may be pardoned for the suspicion

that secret agents of that astute church are at the bottom of the agitation. The catholic claim of the Church of England is not only her true and lawful heritage, it is the only real bulwark against the exceedingly active Roman propaganda. No one who has tasted of the life giving food of the Catholic Faith is in the least degree likely to go back to a dull and dreary Puritanism.

We may be quite certain that if the rising Catholic aspirations of the English people are not satisfied within the Church of England, there is but one residuary legatee. Our Roman Catholic friends know quite as well as we do the cravings of the spiritual side of mankind, and they know equally well that Puritanism can never satisfy those cravings. No less clearly do they see that religion if it is to abide must appeal to the *whole* man and satisfy every part of his complex being, and that an inartistic, uncultured, narrow, and unlovely Puritanism cannot supply this.

It is certain that if the Oxford Movement had not taken place there would have been an enormous secession to the Church of Rome. The dull and dreary religion which satisfied the English people in the early

period of the Georges, and the subjective emotionalism which satisfied our forefathers at the beginning of the nineteenth century, will not do. Whatever form of Christianity is to be the religion of the future, the Puritan and extreme Protestant expression of it is doomed, as it seems to me, beyond a doubt. It is either Catholic, historical, objective, sacramental Christianity, or none at all—as it appears to me, and not to me only, but to many whose names of real weight might be quoted. So appear the signs of the times ; and the question of questions is whether the Church of England will meet this want or not. If she does not there is one only too ready to do so. To attempt to stem the Catholic movement in the Church of England, I repeat, is to play directly into the hands of the Church of Rome. None know this better than the authorities of that great Church.

The Catholic claim to continuity of the English Church is her real strength. The term “Protestant ” expresses but one side of truth. It is indeed intertwined into much of our national life, and rightly regarded has a glory all its own, but it is not the chief

strength or the glory of the Anglican Communion. It is moreover a word foreign to our Prayer Book.

It is the Catholic claim of the Church of England which in this country the Church of Rome hates and dreads. The clear, definite duty of all true-hearted Anglicans is—in spite of attack from Rome, in spite still more of the present Protestant crusade—to assert their claim to the title “Catholic,” and to all that the title implies in the possession of life-giving sacraments and sacerdotal powers. These various attacks upon our Mother Church only make us love her the more. When I think of the Roman on the one side waiting to stab her, and see him leagued with the extreme Puritan who is still more ready to deal her a deadly blow, I trace in her sorrowful plight a condition somewhat similar to her Divine Master’s in His Passion, when to destroy Him Pilate and Herod became friends. As the Church of England is called in a special sense to share her Divine Master’s Cross, one day she will reap that great reward which He has promised to all who amid circumstances of great difficulty have been faithful unto death.

## IV

### REASONABLENESS

ALMIGHTY God has at least two great channels through which He is pleased to unfold eternal truth. He reveals much by the light of human reason. He confirms, develops, and deepens His revelation through human reason by direct spiritual action, that which we call, perhaps mistakenly, Revelation. Few departments of human thought are more interesting than, and contain such solemn warnings as, quiet reflection upon the mutual relations of these two great rivers of the Divine Love. They both find their final origin and end in the person of the Incarnate God, the Eternal Wisdom, the Λόγος, our LORD and Saviour JESUS CHRIST.

In relation to the most supreme of all questions—the character of the Supreme Being—these two channels are both of them of infinite value, and are moreover mutually corrective. Theology is here seen amplifying

and confirming the more timid and limited conclusions of pure Reason ; while the mistakes, the narrowness, the local conclusions of Theology are often widened and deepened by the great human thinkers, and by the steady pressure upon theologians of that mysterious factor in human life which for want of a better name we call "Civilization." Certainly no Christian student who is conscious in but slight degree of the enormous influence in early days of Greek thought upon the deposit of faith, or the broadening influence of evolution in modern times upon a phase of Christianity which narrowed down eternal truth, will grudge a very warm tribute of thanks to the great human thinkers, who have come from God quite as surely as our own spiritual heroes.

We may strengthen this consideration of the mutual benefit of a close alliance between these two great instruments of Divine Revelation by a brief reflection upon the general relation of the principle of faith and that of reason in the spiritual life.

Faith, we are told, is the *Venture* of reason, and it is hardly possible to get a better definition. Look for a moment at the action of

reason in relation to so vital a question as the existence of God. S. Paul gives us the charter of natural Theology when he tells us that things invisible are revealed through our environment, through that wonderful world around us which we can touch, taste, handle, or see. The human reason has drawn its great basal considerations for belief in a God, from the necessity for a great First Cause, from the manifold indications of design in Nature, from the universal consent of mankind in its belief in a God or Gods, from the marvellous interposition of a superior power in human affairs, which is the unfaltering verdict of history, and no less from the witness of the moral law and the moral lawgiver which the human conscience is for ever proclaiming.

Each separate consideration has its own tremendous force. Taken cumulatively, these considerations present such a wealth of evidence that the mind can hardly resist their combined force ; but each at its best, and all combined at their best, fail of *absolute* conviction. It is, for example, open to a man, and open without charging him with mental deficiency, to repudiate their cogency.



It is still more obviously open to a man to repudiate their *moral* force, to put them outside him as vital influences upon his life and conduct. It is precisely at this point that the principle of faith comes into play. It is the *venture* of reason. It sees reason rearing its great ladder. Rung by rung, it mounts higher and higher, but the top is buried in mist. Faith steps up them all ; and then at the last, relying upon all, it makes its step forward into space. In a word, it makes its *venture*. It causes the man to act absolutely upon a conclusion which is as yet unverified. Yet the one act really needs the other. Faith without reason is liable to degenerate into credulity. Reason without faith is always apt to become flaccid, inept, deficient in that vital force which moves the world, that wonderful motive power in human life which we call "Enthusiasm."

Thus we see how absolutely essential these two great principles are to each other. No less clearly do we see how disastrous must be the result of any divorce between them. The long history of the Christian Church simply teems with illustrations. There have been times, bright, promising,

glorious times, when the Church has taken her twin sister of human reason by the hand, has cherished her, used her, thanked God for her blessed gifts ; and, alas ! there have been times when she has regarded her sister with suspicion, has derided her marvellous gifts, has tried to stamp out her life, has been content with an emasculated Christianity, which for a time has dragged on a miserable existence, resting, and well content to rest, on credulity and ignorance. Such periods when we read of them make us hang our heads in shame. They have always contained within them the most fearful *nemesis* ; and succeeding generations have been unable to distinguish between the rich deposit of the faith and the abuses and superstitions which have degraded it.

It is impossible to emphasize too strongly the deplorable nature of the situation when the champions of reason and revelation are ranged on opposite ground ; when revealed religion, after hotly disputing over particular territory, finally evacuates the position, and, without one word of apology or regret, forthwith proceeds to take up another position with equal resolution, which position in

turn it soon finds equally untenable. These two should be friends, firm, fast, true friends. They are necessary to each other ; nothing but loss results from their division ; both come from GOD. It is because I believe with all my heart that the Church of England has been honourably distinguished for her tender regard for human reason that I invite your attention to the following lecture on " Reasonableness " as one of her characteristic glories. I believe that this characteristic, in some respects her noblest, accounts for many of her difficulties, and yet is the guarantee of her continued supremacy in an age which it is certain must grow more and more reasonable.

If I have to point this out, let me say, once and for all, it does not mean that she too has not many incidents shameful enough, over which she may well mourn ; all churches, alas ! of any standing, have much to regret in this relation. It simply means that her general *trend* has been in the right direction, and more so than any other Church. And if I have on the other hand to point to the Church of Rome as a conspicuous example, both in her teaching and in the practical

effect of her system upon the people under her sway, of the opposite quality, it does not mean that her evil tradition in this matter is in any sense exclusive, or that at times in her history she has not risen to a nobler conception of her duty ; but that again her general *trend* has been in the direction of crushing human reason. Some of the most glaring instances of bitter persecution of scientific heroes must be traced to her action, and her exclusive claims and over-accentuation of authority lead logically to this same sad result. While all Christian Churches have been guilty more or less of either crushing or ignoring human reason, the Church of Rome most assuredly has been the most guilty of them all.

I take as the saddest illustration I know the case of Galileo.

(A) Natural illusion is one of the most startling things in nature. Things are not what they seem. The obvious conclusions of the senses are, after all, but poor bases on which to rest. This is nowhere so clearly seen as in the relation of the earth to the sun. For thousands of years it was an article

of faith, which only the insane might question, that the sun went round the earth. It was so evident to the senses—it looks so evident to the senses even now that we have actually to persuade ourselves to the contrary—that no one dared to think otherwise. The terms the rising and setting of the sun passed into human language, and found their place even in the sacred writings. Most people thought that the words “He hath made the round world so sure that it cannot be moved,” settled the question. A natural untruth, based upon the imperfect observation of the senses, became an absolute and infallible fact. The escape of humanity from this falsehood is sad reading, but instructive to all those who desire to let the scientific faculty and the theological faculty freely work out their own conclusions.

Copernicus at Rome, as early as the year 1500, announced the opposite doctrine, the Heliocentric theory, that the sun is the centre, and that the earth and the planets revolve round the sun ; but at first more as a scientific curiosity or paradox. Constant study confirmed his view, but he felt no longer safe at Rome, and therefore retired to

his little native town in Poland. Even here it was considered dangerous to publish such revolutionary doctrine. For more than thirty years it lay slumbering in his mind. Then he brought out his great book on the *Revolution of the Heavenly Bodies*, but died soon after the first copy was placed in his hands. The authorities seemed to have thought it wiser to let the matter rest, until the Copernician doctrine was upheld by Galileo as a truth. Years before, the opponents of Copernicus had said to him, "If your doctrine were true, Venus would show phases like the moon." Copernicus answered, "You are right. I know not what to say ; but God is good, and will in time find an answer to this objection." The God-given answer came in 1611, when the telescope of Galileo showed the phases of Venus. The storm descended on Galileo instead of Copernicus. His discovery took the Copernican theory out of the list of hypotheses, and established it as truth. It is well to call attention to the relation of ecclesiastical authority to scientific truth in this particular instance, because it is only an extreme case, indicative, alas, of many others ancient and modern. Galileo pointed to *facts*

established by his telescope : the authorities fell back upon *à priori* reasoning derived from the Scriptures. To read the accounts of this great battle would be amusing were it not so sad. "How could Joshua have bidden the sun stand still, if it did not move round the earth ?" "Nay, had not the Scriptures said it ran about from one end of the heavens to the other ?" One maintained that "his pretended discovery vitiates the whole Christian plan of salvation." Another declared that it cast suspicion on the doctrine of the Incarnation. Others, again, said it upset the whole basis of theology. To all of these Galileo replied, pointing to ascertained facts. Infallibility then intervened in the persons of two Popes, Paul V and Urban VIII. It is strange to find two infallible authorities absolutely on the wrong side, but for the time their victory over scientific truth was absolute.

In 1615 Galileo was brought before the Inquisition at Rome. The theologians of the Inquisition rendered their unanimous decision ; it is worth reading :

*"The first proposition, that the sun is the centre and does not revolve about the earth, is*



*foolish, absurd, false in theology, and heretical, because expressly contrary to Holy Scripture; and the second proposition, that the earth is not the centre but revolves about the sun, is absurd, false in philosophy, and, from a theological point of view at least, opposed to the true faith."*

The pope ordered Galileo to be brought again before the Inquisition. He was confronted by no less a person than the famous Cardinal Bellarmine. Bellarmine shows Galileo his error, and orders him to renounce it. On February 26, 1616, Galileo promises to obey under threat of imprisonment. Rome absolutely commits herself to the condemnation. The Congregation of the Index, moved by the pope, render a decree that "The doctrine of the double motion of the earth about its axis and about the sun is false, and entirely contrary to Holy Scripture," and that this opinion must neither be taught nor advocated. The same decree condemned all writings of Copernicus and all writings which affirm the motion of the earth.

Galileo bowed before the storm. You have only to read what that storm really was to cease to wonder that he held his peace. It was not, however, for long. He published a dialogue again affirming the facts of the motion of the earth. This time he had to confront the second pope, Urban VIII, and one who was resolutely determined to put down this peniculous scientific nonsense. Galileo and his works were entrusted to the Inquisition again. There he was menaced with torture again and again by express order of the pope, and was at last forced publicly and on his knees to pronounce his recantation, with the added humiliation of a promise on his part to denounce to the Inquisition any other man of science whom he should discover to be supporting "the heresy of the motion of the earth."

These were his words. I print them as a solemn warning as to how *not* to do it in the relation of religion to natural science :

"I, Galileo, being in my seventieth year, a prisoner and on my knees, and before your eminences, having before my eyes the

Holy Gospel, which I touch with my hand, abjure, curse, and detest the error and the heresy of the movement of the earth."

Poor Galileo was no hero, it is true. To escape torture and death he went back on the truth. Had he died a martyr to science it would, however, have but intensified the terrible verdict we must mete out to the authorities of the Roman Church. Though Galileo recanted, Galileo was right, as we all know now, including the Church of Rome. Certainly, as in most other similar actions, no complaint can be urged against the thoroughness of her suppression of the truth. On June 16, 1683, the Holy Congregation, with the permission of the reigning pope, ordered the sentence upon Galileo and his recantation to be sent to all the papal nuncios throughout Europe, as well as to all archbishops, bishops, and inquisitors in Italy; and the document gave orders that the sentence and abjuration be made known, that "You and all professors of philosophy and mathematics may have knowledge of it, that they may know why we proceeded against the said Galileo, and recognize the gravity of his error, in order that they may avoid it, and

thus not incur the penalties which they would have to suffer in case they fell into the same."

The Church of Rome not only silenced Galileo, but was proud of having done so. She carried on the war against him even after his death. Poor man, he had begged that his body might rest in his family tomb, and it was proposed to bury him with the honours due to a great thinker. The Pope Urban VIII sternly said, "That it would be an evil example for the world if such honours were rendered to a man who had been brought before the Roman Inquisition for an opinion so false and erroneous, who had communicated it to many others, and who had given so great a scandal to Christendom." Accordingly he was buried ignobly, apart from his family, without fitting ceremony, monument, or epitaph.

It is hardly credible that, as late as 1765, Lalande, the great French astronomer, tried in vain at Rome to induce the authorities to remove Galileo's works from the Index. Up to 1819 the Index was inexorable towards the works of both Copernicus and Galileo.

It was not until 1822 that the Inquisition graciously agreed that "the printing and publication of works treating of the motion of the earth and the stability of the sun in accordance with the general opinion of modern astronomers is permitted at Rome." It was not, however, until within living memory, in 1835, that there was issued an edition of the Index from which the condemnation of works defending the double motion of the earth was left out.

I have no time to enter into the later incidents of this calamitous episode. The shifts to which defenders of infallible authority have been driven are deplorable. Thus it has been said that Galileo was condemned, not because he affirmed the motion of the earth, but because he supported it from Scripture ; that Galileo was condemned, not for heresy, but for contumacy and want of respect towards the pope ; that the persecution of Galileo was the result of a quarrel between the Aristotelian professors on the one side and professors favouring the experimental method on the other ; that the pope did not condemn him *ex cathedrâ*, but in his private capacity.

One by one all these shifts have failed. Now we get from the very latest authority that the Almighty allowed the pope and the Roman Church to fall into complete error regarding the Copernican theory, in order to teach them that science lies outside their province, and that the true priesthood of scientific truth rests with scientific investigators alone—a theory which obviously has many advantages from the point of view of infallibility.

I am sure my readers will pardon this somewhat lengthy account of a single episode in the history of the relation of the Church of Rome to science. It is an extreme case, I admit. It is perfectly easy to say that other religious bodies, as well as the Church of Rome, condemned Copernicus and Galileo. I am aware of it. I am also aware that the great heroes of modern science have not always had kind treatment from the clergy of the Church of England. I admit and deplore the fact. My contention, however, is not one which claims absolute immunity for one Church and absolute culpability for another. I have to do with the trend of things, and I maintain that the general trend

of the Church of England has been in the direction of liberty for reason, and that that of the Church of Rome as distinctly has been in the opposite direction.

(B) Let us look at this a little closer and see how naturally such a line as that directed against Galileo springs from the characteristic claims of the Papacy.

It is the Church of authority ; and many are the sly shafts which are hurled against our Mother English Church for her want of authority. It may well be that we suffer from error in defect in this relation. Where, indeed, on this earth will you find the nicely balanced mean between the two extremes ? I make bold, however, to say that, looking at the question all round and at the result of both systems upon national life and character, I would rather have the Church of England with her freedom and her deficiency in authority than the Church of Rome with her claim to settle everything upon infallible authority, and her somewhat wooden system, which has cramped the free life of men and nations. The over-pressure of authority in the Church as in the State is a curse and not



a blessing. At least the Church of England has never had to apologize for such a scandal as that of two popes anathematizing and suppressing scientific truth by an authority which claims to be infallible.

The exclusive claim to possession of truth and control of the moral and spiritual life of mankind which again is so characteristic a feature in the Roman Church trends directly towards the same unfortunate attitude. You will always find the man who claims exclusive knowledge a narrow and intolerant person. "I am Sir Oracle" is his idea; and for others to claim that they too are informed and instructed people, though they differ from him, is intolerable. Churches are like men in this. If all truth is exclusively entrusted to the Church as expressed in the Roman See, then it is but a very short step to persecution of those who claim to have seen something of the heavenly vision, whether in natural science or spiritual truth.

Autocratic systems are, moreover, naturally impatient systems. That which contradicts, or appears to contradict, some cherished opinion or custom, is to be sternly suppressed, to be nipped in the bud, or ever it

can blossom to the detriment of mankind. The disposition which waits and weighs, which hopes to find some good out of every opinion that has laid hold upon humanity, is far removed from this temper. New ideas, new truths, or new aspects of old truths, which humanity, as a living, growing factor, is for ever bringing forth, some to perish in their inherent falsehood, some at once to enrich the human race by their splendid truth, others (the larger part, indeed), to be weighed and pruned and freed by careful criticism from dangerous developments—all the good and bad alike receive but scant attention and but little justice from the impatient attitude of an autocratic Church. The old is good enough for such ; why should they be wearied and worried with the new ?

Hence it is that the Church of Rome is tempted to approach every new question from an *à priori* standpoint. The point is settled ; what to her are the discovery of new evidence or the exposure of old, bad evidence ? The matter is settled : Infallibility has spoken. It is not possible it can have been wrong, that injustice has been

done, that rights have been ignored, that wrongs have been blessed and protected.

In 1615 Galileo was condemned : only in 1833 was the stigma removed. It took 218 years to right Galileo.

(C) In sharp contrast to this, we may claim that at any rate since the Reformation deference to human reason has been a marked feature of the Church of England.

Bishop Creighton, whose words carry with them enormous weight as those of an historical expert on the Reformation period, has lately described the essential characteristic of the Church of England as that of the Church of the new learning. The old learning, the learning of the schools, the learning of minute logical discussion, was passing away. The new learning, based upon scholarship, and through scholarship upon the teaching and customs of the early Church, was already coming to the fore. One ecclesiastical system which cherished it and used it was the English Church. Hence her appeal to antiquity, an antiquity which could now be arrived at with increasing certainty through the new learning. Hence no less clearly her

reserve about matters of theological opinion, and her careful labours to try and disentangle from the mass of opinion which through the old learning had accumulated round the deposit of faith that which was essential. The old learning had said virtually, "I am prepared to settle all questions. Propound your difficulty, and I will answer clearly and distinctly." The new learning, more real and therefore more modest, was not afraid of saying, "I don't know. I will search into antiquity and try and find you an answer; but always remember, the Christian revelation does not profess to answer *every* question." Truth enough to save, truth enough to throw light upon the dark places, is revealed and no more. He who would appreciate the temper of the Early Church must realize the great principle of reserve which he will there find. To know enough to be able to say "I don't know" is often the sign of the deepest learning, just as the dogmatic spirit which is ready to pronounce infallibly upon every minute question is more often than not the sign of an ignorance which is colossal in its proportions.

And richly has the Church of the new

learning vindicated her claims to that proud title by the learned sons she has brought forth. In all her ages the deep learning of her clergy has again earned for her that title of *stupor mundi* which the Caroline divines called forth from an admiring Europe. No church in Christendom in the reigns of Elizabeth and James could produce greater men than Hooker and Andrewes. What a galaxy of noble names the next two reigns bring out—Laud, Sanderson, Hammond, Cosin, Bull, Taylor, Ken, Pearson ! These are a few out of a long roll, and each one is a giant.

If it is true—and, possibly, there is always a *measure* of truth in the charge—that French infidelity dates from Voltaire, and Voltaire dates his opinions from his friendship with the English Deists, it is equally true that the French Church could not produce a single man to meet the rising infidelity, while the Church of England had her rich reward for honouring the human reason in the host of champions she was able to raise against the foe. I refrain from quoting present-day leaders of religious thought in the Church of England. Never were such assaults made

upon the Faith, and never did God so conspicuously show that He has not forgotten His suffering Church. He has indeed raised up many great men to meet the emergency. Again I say it is her rich reward for treasuring and fostering human learning in the past. Dr. Manning gives a curious testimony to the cultured manners of the English clergy ; you will find it on page 774 of the second volume of his *Life*.

He says, "In 1848 I was in Rome, and read Gioberti's *Primato degli Italiani*. In describing England and its religion he says that the Anglican clergy are *un clero colto e civile*. As to culture, they certainly have a title to literary and scientific culture more general and more advanced than the body of our priests."

(D) It will be helpful if we draw this out a little more in detail, and to make it the more interesting let us look at it in relation to modern questions. In at least five different ways we can clearly trace out the reasonable attitude of our Mother Church : (1) In relation to the miraculous ; (2) In relation to Christian evidences ; (3) In rela-

tion to Agnosticism ; (4) In relation to Science ; (5) In relation to Biblical criticism.

1. The Miraculous. Modern thought has found considerable difficulty in accepting the miraculous. We Christians indeed may see clearly enough that miracles are examples of unknown law, that the miracles which CHRIST wrought are indeed considerably less than the obviously miraculous nature of His Personality, teaching, and work ; but it is difficult to get outsiders to see things in this light, so difficult that some Christian apologists have almost given away the case for miracles. To surrender the miraculous altogether is suicidal. The miracles are intertwined with the Gospel story. If the great central miracle of the Resurrection be not true, our preaching is vain. We must cling firmly to the Gospel miracles. Yet we have a right to ask that the miraculous shall not be maintained by the Christian Church in such a way as to pander to credulity and to prejudice the whole case for the Gospel miracles, which are miracles *sui generis*. No one can read the miracles recorded in the Apocryphal Gospels without at once observing the wide difference there is between



childish wonder-working and the grave Gospel miracles of healing and the like. The Christian apologist would find his hands heavily tied if he had to defend not merely the great miracles of the Gospel but also a whole series of childish purposeless wonders. The position of a thinking Christian is widely different in England to that (say) in France. In England he is committed indeed to the miraculous, let none question it; but his Church only requires his assent to a series of chaste, sober, and reasonable miracles culminating in the Resurrection. The thoughtful French Christian has nothing but the choice between a form of Catholicism which is hampered at every turn by unreasonable and credulous supernaturalism and the cold and bleak climate of a Calvinistic Protestantism which is on the high road to Unitarianism and total denial of the supernatural.

Ecclesiastical miracles, whatever may be said of their position in early days when the HOLY SPIRIT'S gifts of miraculous power still lingered on, have been heavily discredited by childish examples of the supernatural, such as the flight of the Virgin's

House to Loretto, the liquefaction of the blood of S. Januarius, and the crop of more or less doubtful marvels at Lourdes. Childish and impossible examples of the miraculous.

2. These thoughts are strengthened when we turn for a moment from a particular instance like the miraculous in the great battle of belief *versus* unbelief, to the more general question.

It is not to the Church of Rome we turn to find great champions of the Faith. The sphere of Christian evidences is far from being her natural or special glory. That she has other glories goes without saying, but it would be difficult in our day to point out any great Roman writers in this the great controversy of the age, that controversy which is concerned, not with the question whether Christians are to be Roman, Greek, Anglican, or Protestant, but whether men are to have any religion at all. When we turn to the Church of England, again the contrast is most marked. In a lecture like this it is difficult to go into detail, but let us take one instance out of many. Oxford started the great Church revival movement in the seventeenth century. From her as from a spiritual

mother came Wesley in the eighteenth century. This era has witnessed the transformation of the Church of England by the great Oxford Tractarian Movement. I doubt, however, whether any of these great movements are destined to make the lasting impression which her Anglican sons have in recent years succeeded in producing. In the *Lux Mundi* school there is a remarkable combination of great men, strong and firm and true in the old faith, loyal Churchmen to the core, but remarkably in touch with the problems of modern theology, a body of men who have spoken with unique power to the educated Christians of the day who are beset on all sides by onslaughts upon the Catholic Faith.

We may speak of one, perhaps the greatest of them all, now at rest in Paradise, one whom Mr. Gladstone is reported to have described as destined to be the Butler of the nineteenth century, I mean the late Mr. Aubrey Moore. We are thankful to think that he and his fellows are the natural product of a Church which has ever been tender toward the human reason, and which has reaped a rich harvest of gratitude from the

thinkers of the whole of Christendom for the great men she has raised up to deal with the peculiar religious difficulties of the age.

3. But perhaps the greatest service the Church of England has rendered to human reason in its relation to the Christian religion has been her highly characteristic attitude in reflecting one marked feature in our nationality—I mean in her attitude of *reserve* with regard to the truth. There is a Christian agnosticism which is able to sympathize and to help those who are beset by the general agnostic spirit of the age. To define over-much, let us never forget, is at once to narrow. We do not want the Church of CHRIST to be looked upon as a kind of oracle, always professing to give a full and final answer to every question. We want in this age a Church which carefully selects the subjects of faith that are necessary to salvation, but which at the same time is prepared, in the light of the reserve which CHRIST Himself habitually observed in relation to many questions, frankly to say, “I cannot answer you ; I do not know.” It is not necessary for your eternal welfare that you should know the answer. Strive, then, to enter in

at the strait gate. Work, work, work ; let others theorize. "If any man *will* do His will, he shall know of the doctrine." It seems to me that a reasonable position like this is much more likely to commend itself to, and to win, the agnostic unbeliever than any amount of loud claims to know everything.

4. The general attitude of the Church of England toward modern science is no less remarkable.

Of course it goes without saying that here as in other lands there have been great scientists who have wandered far away from the Faith, though I think, in reference at any rate to some of them, they were thought to have wandered much farther away than they really had. The Bishop of Gloucester<sup>1</sup> at Bel Alp once said to me of Professor Tyndall, that he was not far from the Kingdom of God ; and those who had the honour of knowing that great man, even in but slight degree, will heartily endorse the verdict. Some, alas ! have wandered far, no doubt even in England. Yet I doubt whether any other church in the world could produce so

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Holden is speaking of the late Bishop Ellicott, who died in 1905.

many great names amongst the scientists who have been sincere Christians. The English Church has not (in this relation at least) striven to exclude her very best children from the fold. She is proud of the fact that one of the earliest pioneers in evolution once sat upon the throne of S. Augustine, and that many of her dignitaries take high rank amongst the heroes of natural science.

5. But it is only when we turn to the sphere of Biblical criticism that we see most convincingly what the sweet reasonableness of the Church of England has done for Christianity. It was inevitable that sooner or later the canons of historical criticism would be applied to the sacred writings themselves. There are those who shrink from the application to the Holy Scriptures of those tests which have been applied to secular literature. Yet such an attitude surely implies a lack of faith. If the Holy Scriptures are God's Truth, as we believe them to be, the application of truth-searching tests can only result in a wider and richer unfolding of the heavenly treasures. So it has been, so it is always likely to be, if the

Church herself can raise up refined scholars capable of understanding the intricate questions which literary criticism is for ever producing. If Germany has produced the great school of destructive critics, it is not too much to say that the providential position of the Church of England has been God's sacred instrument in raising up a great school of constructive yet absolutely honest and able critics.

Our Mother Church can boast of the honoured names of Lightfoot, Westcott, Hort, Sanday, Driver, Kirkpatrick, Ryle, and Sayce. Such men are a unique combination of perfect scholarship, consummate ability, and fearless honesty, with that tender reverence which sincere Christian men always must feel when handling so sacred a treasure as that of Holy Writ. If the English Church by her fostering care of intellectual grace had produced no other names than these, she would have earned the lasting gratitude of the whole Christian Church.

(E) The Anglican tenderness towards the human reason has brought in its train the



noblest of rewards. It is, perhaps, as well for a nation to think more often upon its defects, and try to repair them, than to be perpetually pluming itself upon its many virtues and resting therein content. Nevertheless there are times when we may legitimately reflect upon our good things. Amongst the good things for which the nation may well be proud and thankful, and amongst the very greatest of them, is the Christianity of its leading public men. We are so accustomed to this phenomenon that we are apt to forget its unique splendour. Contrast our position in this respect for a moment with France—the twin liberal and progressive nationality of Western Europe—and then try to understand the reason for the marked difference. Marked and conspicuous Christianity amongst her public men is sadly wanting.<sup>1</sup> To say this is to express the position far too mildly. A bitter hostility to Christian Faith and usages is all too frequently the normal state. The Christian religion, if it is tolerated, is tolerated with undisguised contempt. More

<sup>1</sup> This was written in 1903, when the conditions of French public life were very different from those of 1916.

often than not, such is the deadly nature of the feud, that the Church has to endure cruel persecution.

Now turn to our own land and select but one instance, an instance which we may take the more freely as the great Liberal statesman we are about to mention has passed into the quiet land, away from the strife of parties and the bitterness of political rancour. Take the case of Mr. Gladstone, and remember for our purpose the very qualities in his political career which most excited the hostility of his opponents. Take Mr. Gladstone as a representative of advanced Democracy. Here you have the case of a great statesman largely identified with the most advanced political thought, who at the same time is known throughout the world as a resolute and very orthodox Christian and a most loyal son of the English Church. In time to come he will be quoted as the unique example of the truth that advanced Liberalism and Christianity are far from being incompatible. You would search in vain for any parallel to this in France. There, I think, it is not too strong to say, advanced Liberalism and Voltairian Infidelity are

practically convertible terms.<sup>1</sup> I have taken the conspicuous example of Mr. Gladstone as an extreme instance of the unique glory of English public men in their relation to Christianity ; but it is only one instance out of many. The late Prime Minister,<sup>2</sup> differing widely as the poles from Mr. Gladstone in matters political, presents the same phenomenon of deep and earnest Christianity, keen interest in all religious questions, and devoted Churchmanship.

There are not many countries which could say of the heads of their legal system what we can say of so many of our Lord Chancellors, that their Christianity and Churchmanship were as conspicuous as their great professional abilities, and that four of the greatest in recent years have been at one period of their life teachers in our Sunday Schools.

The present Prime Minister,<sup>3</sup> who, if not an Anglican, was in earlier years brought up

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Arthur Gascoyne Cecil, third Marquess of Salisbury, Prime Minister, 1885, 1886-92, 1895-1902.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. A. J. Balfour, who became Prime Minister in 1902, has since published *Theism and Humanism* (1915).

under strong Anglican influence, found time amid his multifarious duties to write a book upon the foundations of belief, which must set any unbeliever seriously thinking whether the Christianity he so contemptuously rejects as fit only for the feeble and credulous can be quite so irrational a thing when it commands the allegiance of so great a mind as that of Mr. Arthur Balfour.

Time would fail me to go into other departments of human life in England, but it would be an easy matter to produce a long roll of great names, in Art, in Science, in Medicine, in Scholarship, great indeed in their special vocations, but all greater in their Christianity. Assuredly, it *is* the reward, and no mean reward, of that delicate tenderness towards human reason which has been so clear a mark of our Mother Church.

(F) There are certain very definite conclusions which spring out of this lecture to which I must invite a brief attention before I conclude.

1. It should teach us all to be very tender towards those who are troubled with intellectual doubts. They come to most people,

I think, at any rate to most of those who are given seriously to thinking about things. Not seldom doubt has been an unconscious Christianity struggling to escape from conventional and impossible glosses upon the true Faith. A man, for instance, who doubts concerning the Calvinistic conception of God *ought* to doubt. God loves him for his doubt : God has sent him his doubts. He will thank the God of Love some day for those very doubts. What is of vital import is the treatment he receives during his hour of darkness and trouble.

It is recorded—and the record ought to make all Christians seriously reflect upon their attitude to intellectual doubt—that Mr. Bradlaugh first seriously considered infidelity through the unwise handling he received from his clergyman. He was a bright, keen, intellectual youth of a devout mind, anxious to serve his Master, and at that time teaching in a Church Sunday School. Then came doubts. The nature of his earlier doubts almost makes us smile. Most of us, I suppose, at some time or other have had something of the same trouble. He found a difficulty in reconciling the Thirty-nine

Articles with the four Gospels, and he went and told his vicar of his difficulty. Instead of receiving kindly and sympathetic help, he was promptly suspended from his office as a Sunday School teacher. This induced him to think that his doubts possibly were graver than he first thought them. Deprived of his occupation on Sundays, he wandered about listening to the infidel lecturers of the day, with the final result which is all too well known to us. I think an adequate conception of the relation of the human reason to the Faith and a tender handling of his doubts might have saved the Faith from one of its bitterest opponents.

2. Of even graver importance, I think, is the duty of guarding against the irrational in religion, of acting hurriedly under the influence of some overmastering impulse.

There are Little Englanders in politics who seem always to assume that whatever country is in the right their own clearly must be in the wrong. It is the anti-national prejudice. So there are to be found the same types in religion. Whatever form of religion may be right, quite clearly that form in which they have been brought up and

which their forefathers loved must be wrong. It is the commonest form of religious prejudice. Then there comes an overmastering influence which more often than not is wholly irrational, which acts in two directions, first dissolving the ties of the old faith, then impelling the will in the direction of some new faith or negation of faith.

Having had some little experience in dealing with such people, I am persuaded that not seldom there is a disturbance of the mental balance and a diseased condition which compels the mind to ignore even the plainest facts and arguments. I do not think the impulse is necessarily Christian at all ; in fact, to say nothing of irrational impulses towards agnosticism and unbelief, I know of at least one instance where the impulse resulted in Mohammedanism and a Christian felt impelled to become a convert to Islam.

Some rush irrationally to Rome, others to Dissent, others to some hopeless craze like "Christian Science." In the majority of cases, a little exercise of the reason will alter things, and if you can get them to pause for a time and think, it is possible to retain them. More often than not, alas ! they are



in a violent hurry, and yielding to their impulses they deliver themselves up bound hand and foot. In each case, moreover, you will always get the same results for a time. Whether they become Mohammedans, Romans, Dissenters, or Christian Scientists, they *always* have absolute peace, and in an exclusive sense they are infallibly certain they have found the *one* true Faith.

I am not writing in ridicule of such people : the subject is far too serious for light treatment. Of course equally it is irrational to believe that because a man has been brought up in a particular religious belief, therefore it must be correct. Our birth and early training are no more infallible guides than are our impulses when we are off the mental balance. What is of vital importance to remember is simply this. Being born and trained in a particular form of belief is some indication that *probably* we may best serve God in that form, inasmuch as His Providence placed us there. Should a call come to another form of belief, a man is bound to consider that there is nothing more grave than the changing of his religion, and that if such a grave step is taken it must only be

after most careful mental inquiry into the truth both of his old religion and his new spiritual attraction, as well as after prolonged prayer for the divine guidance. In a word, under such circumstances, whatever may be right, what must be wrong is to hurry and to forget that God has given us our reason.

3. I cannot conclude this lecture without laying stress upon one message of the intellect to faith in its relation to revealed religion.

CHRIST does not profess to have revealed everything. Both in reason and in revelation He gives enough light to go by, and the one condition of getting more light is to act up to the light already given. There are innumerable questions which mankind must be prepared to leave to that future when we shall know even as we are known. Can I conclude better than in the words of one who once lost the light and (blessed be God) found it again, though possibly only in part? —I mean the late Mr. Romanes.

“Amen : Now lettest Thou Thy servant, LORD,  
Depart in peace, according to Thy Word.  
Although mine eyes may not have fully seen  
Thy great Salvation, surely there have been

Enough of sorrow and enough of sight  
To show the way from darkness into light ;  
And 'Thou hast brought me through a wilderness  
of pain  
To love the sorest paths, if soonest they attain.

Enough of *sorrow* for the heart to cry  
Not for myself nor for my kind am I :  
Enough of *sight* for reason to disclose  
The more I learn, the less my knowledge grows."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Selections from the Poems of G. J. Romanes," ed.  
T. H. Warren (1896), p. 81.

## V

### NATIONALITY.

THAT nationality is a strongly-marked characteristic of the Church of England will not, I think, be denied by any seriously-minded man. She reflects in many curious ways those marks of the Anglo-Saxon race which have so materially contributed to its greatness—the principle of compromise, the absence of clearly-marked logic pushed to its extreme conclusion. The State has grown up by degrees ; our national institutions work because it has been so. On paper, the English Constitution might almost be demonstrated as unworkable, but none the less it works, and works well, if no one of its nicely-balanced constituent parts is pushed to the detriment of the rest. The Church is curiously like it in this, and it has considerable force to reply, as we pointed out in a previous lecture, that if the Church of England is somewhat mixed it is not more

mixed than the State. This is an effective reply enough, *provided* our Christianity is to come to us tinged and coloured with our national peculiarities, and as such it at once becomes an argument in our favour.

But it must be quite obvious that underlying all this is the much deeper and wider question as to whether the Christian religion recognizes the principle of nationality at all, as to whether indeed its position as a kingdom not of this world does not absolutely and finally preclude any fixed relation to the kingdoms of this life.

Many of the best and truest Christians have held firmly to such a conception of our holy religion ; and, as we all know, one great branch of the Church Catholic claims as her most glorious heritage the absolute freedom from State control and national colouring, though the claim must be taken *cum grano* if modern events in France mean anything.<sup>1</sup>

We may not, therefore, dismiss so grave a question lightly. Before we consider nationality as a characteristic glory of the

<sup>1</sup> The point of Mr. Holden's allusion is not clear. In the event, the Church in France made the most complete sacrifice to secure freedom from State control.

Church of England, we must ask ourselves the question—Has a Christianity so affected by our racial tendencies any glory in it at all ; may not its nationality be its bane ?

(A) The question is at least arguable. Let us look at it a little more in detail.

1. Whether Christianity endorses the principle of nationality must ultimately resolve itself into the question whether Christianity endorses nature, her ways and methods. It is, of course, open to any one to dispute this, and as a matter of fact it *has* been disputed in different ages of the Church, sometimes by many of the devout. I suppose we are all of us tempted at some period in our lives to dispute it. There are certain aspects of nature which are so revolting that we naturally shrink from ascribing them to God, or from believing that under any circumstances they could be God-blessed.

Nature red in tooth and claw, with her dark and cruel recesses, and her terrible record of pain and sorrow, tempts us, as she tempted Manes hundreds of years ago, to think that there is not one sole principle of government, that there is something like a

good GOD and a bad GOD, a terrible Dualism which seemingly, as it came forth for eternity, will last throughout eternity. Sometimes we are tempted to put Nature, her processes and methods, on one side as apart from GOD, something which works on in its blundering way, independent of GOD. Nevertheless, tempting as this has always been and is, it is heresy of the most deadly kind. We are not allowed to escape from the dilemma in any such direction : whatever avenue of escape there may be, that one must be closed. For there is but one GOD, the absolute Lord and Governor of all things, Who expresses Himself so us through Nature as through a sacrament, and Who is in the last resort responsible for her methods and processes. How to reconcile those processes and methods with the absolute love of GOD which CHRIST reveals is a problem which the scope of our lecture forbids us to consider. What we must be very clear about is the fact that Christianity as *the* religion endorses Nature, in fact that our Divine Master is the animating principle of Nature, that in Him all things stand together, that if His control and presence were withdrawn Cosmos would



become Chaos and all the vast universe would collapse into abiding and fearful ruin.

Yes ; but then if we admit this, we are at once drawn into an admission that He endorses any process in Nature which is universal. War is one such process, another is Nationality. Nature in the evolution of human life very markedly employs the factor of nationality in her development. The family is the unit, not the individual. Families group themselves under the mysterious promptings of Nature into communities, and communities grouped together form nations ; and by the ebb and flow of nationalities, as by the ebb and flow of the great law of inequality, progress is secured and the great evolution of man marches forth to its appointed goal.

Let me repeat, whether a national colouring to Christianity is a glory depends upon the question whether Christianity recognizes, endorses, and blesses nationality ; and this question in turn leads on to another, as to whether Christianity recognizes, endorses, and blesses Nature in her processes and methods. If to deny this last is deadly heresy, it follows conclusively that Chris-

tianity endorses the principle of nationality which is so marked and universal a feature in the process of human evolution.

At this point it is well to point out that the endorsement of national colouring to Christianity obviously has its limits. Nationality must not touch the deposit of the Faith. This it can neither increase nor diminish. It is concerned mainly with modes and methods of presentation of the one Truth. It must only present the one Faith, but that Faith may be tinged, coloured, hallowed, by the equally God-given principle of nationality.

But I turn from a train of thought which I think is a helpful one to another which is of a more positive nature.

2. No one can consider this tremendous question as to whether Christianity endorses nationality without reflecting upon God's very clearly revealed purpose in what is called national election, or the choosing of select nationalities to carry out His great purposes. I pass by as too vast for our consideration the providential preparation, though the great nationalities of Assyria, Babylonia, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome, for that unique moment called "the fullness

of time " when GOD sent forth His Son, born of a woman, born under the law. Nor can I take up your time by dwelling upon the wonderful contribution which Greek and Latin thought, habit, language, and position furnished to the Gospel. It is not possible to do more than indicate that all the nations of the earth in ancient days were under His sway, and, though in darkness to a large extent, as far as their light went, followed after him, if haply they might find Him. S. John was comforted by the sight of the four great living creatures in the midst of the throne, singing the praises of the Most High God ; and what are these symbols but types of nationality—the *Lion*, the wild, fierce roving kingdoms of conquest ; the *Ox*, nations like the Hindoos, where the quieter life prevails, or like the Egyptians, where the ox was worshipped ? *The living creature with the face of a man*, what is it but the type of the cultured Greek with his worship of the human form divine ? The *Eagle*, what is it but the recognized symbol of Imperial Rome ? These great nationalities were not external to GOD ; they were fulfilling His great purposes on their own

lines. In their measure and degree they too were singing the divine praises. This is F. D. Maurice's interpretation, and it commends itself to me.

All these interesting and tempting aspects of the question must be discarded. I ask you seriously to reflect upon the endorsement of the principle of nationality in the selection of God's ancient people Israel. Israel is the highest expression of national election. Other nations were indeed chosen to carry out particular designs of the Almighty, but were themselves more or less in the dark. In a blind, heedless way they followed the impulse which impelled them hither and thither under the influence of the Spirit. With Israel, the nation chosen to preserve the Monotheistic idea, emphatically it was quite otherwise. They *knew* their calling and election. The One Supreme Ruler of the universe was so especially the Ruler of their nation that they were even tempted to forget His fatherly control of other peoples on the earth. For the divine purpose they as a nation were fenced off from the surrounding nations. Innumerable restrictions were imposed on

their customs, their intermarriage with other nations and their worship, all of which had simply for their aim the preservation of the national idea. To me the long record of Jehovah's relation with His people Israel is simply the endorsement of the God-permitted principle of nationality in the sphere of religion.

3. It may be said that while this is true enough as a revelation of divine method, as far as it relates to the Jew, the religion of JESUS CHRIST has superseded that ancient dispensation, and has provided an universal religion, wherein nationalism is *ipso facto* excluded.

It seems to me that such a view ignores the most elementary principle of the relationship which exists between the two covenants. S. Paul regards the old dispensation as a faint shadow of the reality which is in CHRIST. The Body, i.e. the reality, is of CHRIST, he says.<sup>1</sup> CHRIST, indeed, came not to destroy, but to fill up, to complete. If the recognition of the national principle is a vital point in God's dealing with mankind through the Jews, we may expect to find,

<sup>1</sup> Col. ii. 17.

and as it seems to me we *do* find, that same principle accepted under the new dispensation, only intensified and developed. It is now no longer *one* nation which is recognized as the channel of divine revelation, but the divine promise to Abraham is fulfilled. *All* the nations of the earth are blessed in and through that one nation.

In the light of the Incarnation, we may approach the same question from a somewhat different standpoint and arrive at very much the same conclusions. There is no truth more vital to the full realization of that supreme manifestation of God, none to which the best authorities cling with greater tenacity, than its underlying witness to CHRIST'S claim over the *whole* of human life. As His religion is Catholic in the sense that it is to include all mankind of whatever race, nation, clime, colour, and station, so it is Catholic in the sense that in relation to mankind, whether as individual or as individuals grouped into communities, it claims everything that is truly human and lifts it all infinitely high. The Incarnation hallows whatsoever is essential to the full development of human life.

Whenever this has been forgotten, either through an exaggerated individualism, or through the unhealthy development of violent prejudice, or by neglecting the body and ignoring the mind, or in any other way, the result has been disastrous in the extreme. In modern days we see this most clearly when the Puritanic aspect of Christianity is allowed to dominate the Faith. A narrow, dwarfed, and stunted humanity is the result, and emphatically the doctrine of God our Saviour is not commended amongst men. Rather is it not the case that under its blighting influence men shun religion altogether? What is the mistake of Puritanism? It is simply the ignoring of the elementary teaching of the Incarnation, that it expresses CHRIST's claim upon the *whole* of human life. Whole departments—the artistic, the cultured, the literary, the musical—are regarded as foreign to CHRIST's religion.

We claim that CHRIST is the King of all these departments—that music, art, science, culture, will find their highest expression when dedicated to Him.

Now apply all this to so vitally human a thing as nationality. Surely on similar lines



the Incarnation has its own proper message to, its own proper hallowing of, a quality which is so intertwined with all human life. Is it conceivable that CHRIST meant to crush it out of existence, to bid men for ever stultify a primary law of their being, to uproot some of the strongest and noblest feelings common to humanity? It is impossible to me at any rate so to read the message of the Incarnation. The truth is CHRIST came to claim nationality, to bless it, and to enable it to serve our common humanity with yet richer powers of service.

4. Accordingly one of the richest and most fruitful studies a Christian can engage in is to investigate carefully the enriching, the perfecting, the bringing out in fresher and brighter colours of the hidden treasures of the Incarnation as it touches different national types. There was loss to the full meaning and development of the Incarnation when, as in the earliest days, the Gospel message was limited to Jerusalem and Judaea. When the light touched the human lamp of Greek nationality a mighty flame flashed forth, lighting up the whole world. There was loss to the full meaning of the Incarna-

tion while the great imperial race of Rome lay external to it. CHRIST touched with His incarnate love that strong and self-reliant people, and the contact brought out new and glorious fruits of Christian character. So it was with Spain, with those wild, fierce northern races, the Huns and Goths, with the early Franks, with the inhabitants of these Western Islands, with the Slavonian races of the East, with America. Each race in turn, as it came in contact with the divine revelation, felt itself nerved, re-energized, uplifted to heights hitherto unthought of; and each in its turn had its own contribution to bring to the common centre of its regeneration. Hidden treasures were perpetually unfolded as racial ideas, thoughts, ways of looking at things, modes and customs, came into touch with God's unspeakable Gift. So to think of nationality is, as it seems to me, to supply at once the stimulus to, and the interest in, the foreign mission work of the Church now.

Wherever there are nations lying apart from the Incarnation, there is loss—loss to both, for each needs the other. The Incarnation has to enrich and to be enriched by its

full contact with Japan, with China, with the other Central Asian nationalities, as well as with the teeming peoples of Africa. In one word, the Incarnation needs, recognizes, and blesses the principle of nationality ; and the principle of nationality, like all other essentially human qualities, finds itself at its highest when similarly in touch. Each needs the other. What God hath joined together let not man put asunder. It seems also pretty clear, if the Revelation of S. John means anything at all, that even in the future state nationality is not to cease. The nations still walk in the light of the Holy City. I shall assume, then, that the principle of nationality is God-given, and therefore can be and is God-blessed.

(B) It will tend to make our contention clear that nationality is a characteristic glory of Anglo-Catholic Christianity if at this point we indulge ourselves in an historic retrospect. The State, as the expression of the principle of nationality, and the Church, as the divine kingdom set up by CHRIST on earth, very soon came into relation with each other, and at first the relation, it must be admitted,

seemed to be hopelessly hostile. Christianity appeared to the statesmen of Imperial Rome, for various reasons into which we have no time to enter in this lecture, to be so hopelessly opposed to the best interests of the community that for some hundreds of years they could only regard it as a secret religious organization to be put down at all hazards. It is sometimes forgotten that the persecution in the first three centuries of the Christian era, however cruel in its methods and futile in its results, was the work, to a large extent, of men who honestly believed they had no other alternative than the duty of suppressing a society inimical to the well-being of the State.

This terrible conflict between Church and State dragged on its weary way, sometimes acute, sometimes almost suspended, until the conversion of Constantine the Great, from which great event a new epoch began. I do not want to drag in extraneous subjects into this lecture, and, therefore, I say nothing on the question as to whether Christianity might not have been stronger and better then and now, if the State had either let it severely alone or, at any rate, had refrained from

petting it and bestowing upon its chief officers the trappings of worldly pomp and power. The "might have beens" of history are always interesting, often instructive in their hidden lessons, but not often, I think, profitable in proportion to the time spent on them. I shall refrain from considering this point, and merely ask you to notice that after Constantine's conversion the relations between Church and State for some time worked with a fair amount of smoothness. Of course there had continually to be readjustments of territory and mutual goodwill, and a policy of give and take was always necessary. There grew up by degrees the idea of the Christian State, and as the Church Catholic came in contact with national life and custom, there was at first no harsh upsetting of old national ideas in the interests of a centralizing policy.

The well-known instructions which Pope Gregory the Great gave to Augustine, the first Archbishop of Canterbury, very much express the attitude of the best minds as to the relation of the one faith to national peculiarities. Augustine, a man of somewhat narrow mind, would have displaced

the national usages which had grown up amongst the Christians who existed in these islands long before he landed. He consulted Gregory, and Gregory, with a large-minded grasp of the situation, advised the new archbishop, in arranging the services of the English Church, not to tie himself down to the Roman ritual, but to select out of every church what was pious, religious, and right, and so to form a new liturgy for the Church of England—"an English one"; for, alluding to Augustine's too narrow attachment to everything Italian, he observes, "Things are not to be valued on account of places, but places for the good things they contain." <sup>1</sup>

We see, then, first the State persecuting the Church, then the Church adopted by the State and working more or less harmoniously with it. In the Middle Ages, however, we are face to face with a new phase of relationship, and one in the reaction from which we are caught at the present day. The rise of the Mediaeval Papacy practically amounted to an assault upon the State by the Church, at any rate in the West. The natural primacy

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Angl.* I. 27.

which had been freely accorded to the great See of the West was pushed to preposterous lengths, and for a time with astonishing success. Again I must avoid tempting side-issues, and refrain from inquiring how far this came through the providence of God, and how far it brought benefit. I must content myself with stating the fact.<sup>1</sup>

The extreme claims of the Papacy over national life and freedom soon provoked a reaction. Some people tell us that the Reformation had at its basis a demand for doctrinal reform. In its earlier stages, at any rate, I doubt it. Others will tell us that it was due to the corrupt lives of the clergy. I question it very much. Both these things, no doubt, played their part later on. If any one primary cause can be assigned for the uprising at the time of the Reformation, I believe most historians of repute assign it to the increasing influence of the rising spirit of nationality. In England this was conspicuously the case;<sup>2</sup> and if there is ingrained in the English mind at the present day an

<sup>1</sup> cf. Figgis, *Churches in the Modern State*, esp. Lecture IV.

<sup>2</sup> See note on p. 102.



intense suspicion and hatred of what is called popery, I believe it may be traced not to the revolt from persecution, not to any innate theological objection to Catholic doctrine, but simply to the fact that the foreign priest imposed a yoke upon national freedom, and persistently thwarted the rising national sentiment. The English people, with all their virtues and all their faults, are very much the same now as at the time of the Reformation and for some time before it. The foreign yoke they will not have at any cost : that must go. I believe, certainly, at the earlier period of the Reformation they did not want much else to go. They were Catholic to the core, but the papal supremacy, which had been pushed to such extreme lengths, must cease. They wished their Church to go on very much as it went on before, minus the papal claims. In one word, the Reformation in England was an extreme instance of the revolt of nationality from the aggressions which the mediaeval Papacy had made upon the State. Our insular position of course intensified the protest, but there is enough in the miserable record of the relation of the Papacy in the Middle

Ages to our national life to account for the revolt, even apart from insularity. Since then the hatred to the claim of the foreign priest has been driven home by the memory of cruel persecution.

Look for a moment a little closer into the anti-national record of the Church of Rome, and you will cease to wonder at the anti-popish spirit in Englishmen. If we could only succeed in showing them the difference between Catholicism and *Roman* Catholicism, and that such Catholicism is the only bulwark against Roman aggression, I believe the present unhappy controversies would die out.

1. In early days, then as now, we had a strong love for our sea-girt independence. Rome has blessed and instigated at least three great expeditions against our national well-being—the Norman Conquest, the army of France in the thirteenth century, the Spanish Armada.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The statements in the text will hardly bear the weight put on them. It is true that Pope Alexander II blessed the expedition of William the Conqueror, but that expedition was regarded in part as the just avenging of a broken oath, and even more as a holy war against a province ruled by a schismatic archbishop. The

2. In early days we proudly remembered, as we remember still, that the Roman Empire, either in its old form or its new, had never bent our race to its yoke. The Papacy claimed dominion over us, as over all inhabitants of islands, as a direct fief of the Holy See.

3. Amongst the very first of modern nations, we felt the breath of revived political life. In earlier days, as now, essentially we were a political people. Our history is a long record of determined attempts to balance the claims of the various estates of the realm, and to weld them into an organized whole, happily with the most extraordinary success. Rome, then as now, is very much the same. She has little sympathy with

second allusion is more obscure. If it means that Innocent III was prepared to bless an expedition of Philip Augustus to dethrone King John in 1211, when John was excommunicate, it is doubtful whether such an act in the circumstances of the time, can justly be called a blow at "our national well-being." Mr. Holden might have added that in 1688 the Papal Nuncio at the Hague is said to have had masses said for the success of the expedition of William of Orange. For the English king James II, Roman Catholic though he was, was the ally of Louis XIV, to whom the Court of Rome was at that time strongly opposed.

national aspirations as such. Over and over again the difficulties of nationality have been her opportunity. She has interfered with our aspirations after freedom at every stage. *Alexander III*, in 1164, claimed to annul the constitutions of Clarendon. *Innocent III*, in 1215, vetoed Magna Charta and excommunicated all who had a hand in it. *Urban II*, in 1261, released Henry III from his royal duty to execute the Acts of the Parliament of Oxford. *Clement V*, in 1305, absolved Edward I from his oath to observe the Charter.

4. There was a strong national feeling that the endowments of parishes which the bounty of our ancestors had bestowed upon the National Church should be spent in furthering the Gospel, and not in maintaining the pomp and circumstance of foreign ecclesiastics in the Eternal City. To the pope, all benefices in Christendom were in his gift of right, however little he might in his generosity press his claim. In 1253 Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln, to single out one instance out of many, took up a strong attitude against the pope's claim to assign a canonry in Lincoln Cathedral to his nephew.

His dying words were, in allusion to the monstrous abuses which had arisen through the alienation of national wealth to support foreign ecclesiastics, "Nor will the Church be free from this Egyptian bondage except at the bloody sword's point."

5. It is clear, moreover, that the Papacy has never repented of her anti-national action in dealing with local churches. The Church of France at the present moment is a conspicuous instance both of papal impenitence and of the final results of that system.<sup>1</sup> Practically, the Church of France may now be regarded simply as an extension of the Church of Rome. Formerly there used to be a strong national ecclesiastical spirit. Gallicanism has now, to all intents and purposes, been stamped out. Roman centralization has had its way unchecked, with the result, so deplorable as it seems to us, that the French as a nation are profoundly uninterested in religion and religious questions.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered that Mr. Holden was writing in 1903 before the very real religious revival in France of recent years.

<sup>2</sup> See note on p. 159.

6. But the determined onslaught by the Church on the State has not only had the most disastrous results in modern France. Nationality everywhere has asserted itself, and the reaction has, alas ! brought with it too often a revolt, not merely against the religion of Rome, but against religion altogether.

Modern Rome itself is an illustration of such a revolt. The rising spirit of Italian nationality, meeting with neglect and hostility at the hands of the Papacy, has gone its own way, and that successfully, but, alas ! with results disastrous to the cause of true religion. It was a sad and mocking comment upon the Infallibility Decree that there should almost immediately ensue the withdrawal of the French troops from the Eternal City, and the entrance therein of Victor Emmanuel, the representative of the rising spirit of Italian nationality.

Nationality in Italy is once more in the ascendant : the Church is largely under the heel of the State. The Roman Catholic clergy, alienated from civil life, have practically become a separate caste, hated as unpatriotic and anti-national ; while such of

the laity as abstain from participating in their national life and its national interests are rapidly drifting into the same unhappy state.

A close study of the modern history of the monastic orders would tell very much the same story. Their anti-national atmosphere, their allegiance to the foreign priest, the supposed unpatriotic effect of their educational system upon the youth of a nation, account for much of the bitter persecution they have met with. The nobler side of their life—and there is a very noble side—has been forgotten in the hatred which the unwise hostility of religion to national sentiment has created. It is sometimes forgotten that many monasteries were suppressed in England prior to the Reformation. Cardinal Wolsey's College of Christ Church,<sup>1</sup> Oxford, for example, was largely created out of such sources of revenue. Beyond question in some cases a condition of immorality and corruption so prevailed as to call for suppression, but not, I believe, in many, only in the very few.

<sup>1</sup> The original name of Wolsey's foundation was Cardinal College. The name was changed to Christ Church when the college was refounded by Henry VIII.



The monastic orders excited the national hostility chiefly because of the foreign jurisdiction which was claimed over them because of their allegiance to the foreign priest. In allegiance, in spirit, in government, they were religious communities largely dominated by an anti-national religious spirit, and the nation refused further to tolerate their existence. The history of the English monasteries is very much the same as that abroad. A visit to the Certosa, near Pavia, in Italy, may depress us when we find a beautiful monastery turned into a national monument, and the place where the praises of God were sung day and night now silent save for the stranger's footfall and the tourist's curiosity. Murmuring against the tyranny of the Italian Government in suppressing the religious orders may be loud and deep, but a reflecting mind will ponder upon the lesson it all conveys, and will trace in that desolated chapel and those deserted cloisters the penalty which must come upon any form of the Christian religion when it persistently will go out of its own proper province to thwart and resist the God-given principle of nationality.

I cannot better sum up this part of our lecture than in the perhaps unwilling testimony which we extract from some admissions of the late Cardinal Manning. He is discussing his nine hindrances to the spread of Roman Catholicism in England. (See *Life of Manning*, vol. ii. page 774.) The first hindrance he describes in Italian as "*Clero nè colto nè civile.*" I have had occasion previously to quote his testimony *in re* the word *colto*. Let us see what he says about the Roman clergy *in re* the word *civile*. He says, speaking of the Anglican clergy, "They are literary ; history, constitutional law, and experience they have very generally. Moreover, they have an interest in public affairs, in the politics and welfare of the country. They are therefore *civiles*. They share and promote the civil life of the people. *It is here that we* (i.e. *the Roman Catholic clergy*) *are wanting, and mischievously wanting.*" (The italics are mine.)

(C) In truth we may conclude that the separation of these two great revelations of God in national life and in religion has proved disastrous to each in turn ; and we

may very well ask ourselves whether it is not possible for Church and State to work harmoniously together, hand in hand, as good friends mutually agreeing to give and take, and to work side by side for the good of humanity.

The characteristic glory of the Church of England has been that she has tried to carry out this ideal. And one distinctive mark of the Reformation is the accentuation of the Anglican Church as markedly a National Church.

The result has proved on the whole, I believe, that such an ideal brings within it great blessings. No doubt there is another side to the question. Possibly in some important respects the Church has suffered grievous loss; but on the whole the result shows clearly that there has been mutual benefit. It is to this mutual benefit which the ideal of a national Church brings with it that I now invite your attention.

It may be regarded from two very distinct points of view :

(a) The benefit which the Church has bestowed upon the nation :

(b) The benefit which the nation has bestowed upon the Church.

(a) Let us look at this a little closer. I think there are certain very marked characteristics, honourable to our English manhood, which we may legitimately dwell upon in this connection, because they can be traced back almost certainly to the influence of Christianity, and chiefly I think to the influence of the Church of England upon the national character. Perhaps we are over prone to dwell upon our excellences as a nation and to forget the good there is in other nations. No doubt it is better for us to look to our faults rather than to dwell complacently upon our virtues ; but it is well at times to trace the great characteristics in our own time of which we may legitimately be proud.

1. First amongst the nations England awoke to the inherent dignity of humanity and to the wickedness of both the possession of slaves and the hideous cruelties of the slave traffic. It is strange that nearly two thousand years should have elapsed before so elementary a truth, inseparably bound up as it is with the Incarnation, could get firm

foothold in the conscience of mankind ; but so it is. If I had to single out any one thing above another for which the whole world is indebted to the Anglo-Saxon race, I should select this. First amongst the nations of the world England threw off the fetters of the slave. With a great price purchased she this freedom, and at a great price she still keeps down this the worst evil which has disgraced mankind.

2. Some of us have hung our heads in shame at the inability of England to redress the cruel wrongs of the Armenian subjects of the Sultan. Some also think we might have done more and risked more, had we not become selfishly immersed in money-making and conquest. Whatever may be the rights and wrongs of this question—and the present writer is the last to wish to dogmatize on the subject—up to that point it has surely been amongst the most honourable characteristics of England, that she has vigorously championed the cause of oppressed nationalities rightly struggling to be free. The desertion of Denmark, the support of the Turkish Empire, and the like, some think are blots upon her fair name, no doubt ; but

if so, like spots upon the sun they serve only to bring out more clearly the brilliancy of her services in this relation.

To England—we are proud to think of it—more than to any other nation the down-trodden and oppressed have turned, and not in vain, for sympathy and help. When Spain threw off the French yoke, when Greece effected her national independence, when Italy emerged a free and united nation, it must be confessed they owed much to English sympathy, to English blood, and to English gold.

3. When we find corruption under despotic governments we are apt to think that it is an inevitable accompaniment only of autocratic rule. We are startled, however, and distressed when we find the same evil raising its hideous head under the protection of free institutions. Even America, bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, proclaims that the freest of free institutions may be coextensive with much that is corrupt. It is something to be proud of to know that the mother and mistress of Parliaments is still singularly free from gross corruption of this sort, and that our public men, our judicial

bench, our vast civil service, are absolutely above suspicion.

4. In philanthropic enterprise, unbounded by race or class, England easily stands pre-eminent. It would be difficult to point to any other nation which so readily opens its purse to the cry of distress, and more difficult—I should say impossible—to parallel our system of organized and permanent philanthropy.

5. To this may we not add that in kindness to animals the English people stand far ahead of any other nation, with the possible exception of the Swiss? Alas! I know too well the other side. We are far from what we ought to be, and there are grave symptoms in the direction of the scientific torture of God's dumb creatures which point to retrograde movement; but these things are relative after all, and in relation to other nations our record is a high one. A journey abroad, particularly in certain parts of France, in Spain, and even in sunny Italy, is sometimes spoilt by the outward and visible signs of monstrous and wanton cruelty to the lower creatures. Foreigners often think us weak and sentimental in our humanity



towards the suffering creatures. God ever keep this, one of our noblest qualities, strong and true.

6. The little word "duty" is one we associate specially with the English name. The expansion of our Empire furnishes endless illustrations, and to the cultivation of this grace is largely due our extraordinary success. The late Primate has pointed out how frequently the word occurs in the dispatches of the Duke of Wellington, and traces it directly to the impression which our Catechism, in the duty to God and to our neighbour, stamps upon the English character.

7. Lastly : English straightforwardness, we are told, largely accounts for the permanency of our rule in India. An Englishman's word is his bond. He has only scorn and contempt for trickiness, treachery, deceit, and disingenuousness. He may not be loved. Possibly his graver nature is not a very lovable one to the Oriental mind. But he is respected, trusted, and relied upon. There is unbounded confidence in his absolute sense of justice ; and when you have said that, I do not know that

you can say a much nobler thing of any race of men.

These are high qualities—love of liberty, hatred of oppression, incorruptibility, beneficence, kindness to the lower and helpless creatures, devotion to duty, straightforwardness ; and God has richly blessed us in their possession. In these the greatness of England and of Englishmen consists. If the union between nationality and religion, which hitherto has been so marked a feature in our national life, has resulted in such a type of character, we may well think that God has blessed the mark of nationality.

(b) Surely not less great has been the benefit the nation has bestowed upon the Church. Our Christianity, largely moulded by our national characteristics, has got its own peculiar special glories of which it may well be proud.

1. In no country in the world is the conception of the *Christian state* so markedly emphasized as in England. Again let me say how conscious I am of our failures in this relation, but compared with other countries we are very far ahead. Nowhere else do the clergy enter so fully into civil life,

and nowhere else are they less of a caste. Some little time ago one of our daily papers had an article upon the beneficial result to the State of our national clerical life, and it proceeded to trace out the number of great servants of the State who had come from the parsonages of England. The strong national and civic feeling of the clergy up to now has largely accounted for the popularity of the Church of England and the retention of its present privileged position. Some people tell us that now, along with deeper spirituality, there has come a lessening of this relation to the life of the people. I do not believe it for a moment, and I am sure the clergy in a thousand ways are more in touch with the life of the people than ever they were. The national type has coloured clerical life more in England than anywhere else, and the result has been almost wholly good.

2. Hardly less marked is the general character of English Christianity. I know the term *a manly religion* is liable to be misunderstood, but it shows better than anything else our characteristic Christianity. I am not blind to its dangers. I know that it is sometimes so manly and independent that

it lacks the grace of Christian humility and dares to stand outside the grace of the Sacraments. But allowing for this unhappy deficiency, which by God's grace will some day be removed, it is a very high and noble type of religion as it stands. The national manliness makes a manly form of Christianity.

3. The influence of the nation upon our religious type also produces a certain gravity, restraint, and reserve which I think is greatly to be admired. English Catholicism has a quiet dignity all its own. Its ritual, its usages, its very architecture illustrate this. Not that in this we take up a superior line toward other nations. Their character, habits, temperament, and climate may demand something more ornate, some greater minutiae of ceremonial, some (as it seems to us at any rate) greater gaudiness of colouring. Our quiet and reserved English nature likes quietness and reserve in religion and in religious observances. An Englishman appreciates a reverent, dignified, and simple ritual and religious surroundings. He is seldom disposed to talk about religion, not that he is uninterested in it, but things that

are very near his heart do not lightly appear on the surface.

Of course, again, all this may be abused, but it is a high quality, none the less.

4. The *Via media*, as we have seen, is a distinct glory of the English Church. If so, as we have already said, it ought not to be forgotten that in all human probability it springs largely from the impress which the English nation has set upon its religion. The English Constitution on paper might be shown to be logically unworkable. Nevertheless, it works, and works because it has slowly and quietly grown up. It is an odd farrago, a strange union of apparently hopeless opposites ; but it works, which, after all, is its chief end. The different estates of the realm, if they each pushed their claim to extremes, and forgot to give and take, would soon stop the whole machine. But the long course of history has taught them that give and take are the conditions of wholesome living, and so accordingly they give and take. The illogical machine works on and works well, works better than other constitutions which on paper are perfectly constructed.

As this balanced harmony is the glory of English constitutional life, so is it with the Church. The enemies of the English Church may point the finger of scorn and sneer at the union of opposites secured by the strong arm of State connection. But the machine works, and works well, works perhaps better than any other Christian machine in foreign lands. The hatred of extremes, the nicely-balanced harmonies, the desire to include and not to exclude, may (let us say it again) have their dangers; but assuredly they point to one of the chiefest glories both of the Church of England and of the character of her sons.

5. Yet one more illustration of the influence of national character upon national religion, and I have done. Some people tell us we have too much liberty and freedom in our English national life. No doubt it would be easy to instance cases of abuse. Yet it is true beyond question that in liberty, and freedom, of the press, of commerce, of government, of opinion, lies the secret of our greatness. This same spirit, when impressed upon religion, brings out glories all its own.

The greatest mistake in religion as in all else is to over-guide. The HOLY SPIRIT is the Spirit of freedom. Where He is, there is true liberty. There are some who maintain that in recent years the life of the English Church has been too free, that there has been too little exercise of authority on the part of her rulers. Personally I do not think so. If it has been so, surely it is a mistake on the right side. Over-centralization is the bane of Churches as it is of States. The jubilee of the late Queen<sup>1</sup> revealed the lesson that our Colonial Empire has grown great and loyal because the Colonies have had a generous freedom given them to grow and develop.

The present crisis in the Church brings with it many anxieties, but its very worst result will be seen if in any way, and in relation to any party, it checks the free growth of the free life of the Church by the fussy over-intervention of authority. An Englishman's freedom is his glory, and the freedom of our English Church is but a reflex in religion of that great national characteristic.

<sup>1</sup> The "Diamond Jubilee" of Queen Victoria in 1897.



An intelligent interest in civil matters, manliness in religion, gravity and reserve in religion, balanced harmony of religious development, the freedom of the HOLY SPIRIT—these are some of the great qualities we discern in English Christianity as the outcome of national impress upon religion. They are as valuable as the qualities which religion has impressed upon the national character. The union of the two ideas, where it can be effected, seems wholly desirable.

(D) Let me in conclusion ask your attention to one or two matters of practical application.

If there is anything in the argument of this lecture, I am quite sure it says to all English Churchmen, *Learn to enlarge your horizon*. One of the most striking features of the present day is the decay of the Latin races; or, in other words, the decay of nations which more or less are under the sway of the Papacy; or, in other words (let us read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest it), the decay of nations where a *national type of Christianity*

*has been practically obliterated in the interests of Ultramontanism.*

This strange phenomenon is co-extensive with the extraordinary spread of two races which are very alike in many things, but in this beyond all else—in their tenacious preservation of the Catholic Faith and Church—inseparably associated with nationality—I mean the Slavonic and the Anglo-Saxon races. Russia and Great Britain seemingly hold the field in the future. In both there is a marked and very tenacious retention of Catholicity and nationality. They should be good friends. Nothing is more lamentable than the unworthy suspicion these two great and God-blessed people have of each other. The world is large enough, surely, for both. If their Churches could be brought into closer relation, the benefit, I will not say to the cause of peace only, but to the spread of CHRIST's kingdom, would be enormous.

Let us turn our eyes away from impossible dreams of union with the Church of Rome. Let us dismiss as impossible any hope of reunion with the various forms of Puritanic Christianity at home, which can only be

purchased at the sacrifice of principle. Rather let us turn our eyes to that august and venerable Christianity in the East, which has preserved the Faith unimpaired, which has always repudiated the usurped jurisdiction of the Papacy, and which stands in Apostolic order as sure to-day as in the days of the Apostles themselves. Blessed are they who are permitted by God, even in small degree, to deepen the friendly feeling which already exists between the Orthodox Church of the East and our own pure and Apostolic branch of CHRIST's Holy Catholic Church.

Meantime let us thank God that He has been pleased to cast our lot in the English Church. Let us ask Him to deepen our love for her and enable us to understand more fully her unique position and glories. Let us generously recognize the special glories He has bestowed upon other great branches of the one universal society ; but at the same time let us carefully remember that He has bestowed special blessings upon our Mother Church with no unlavish hand. Above all let us try to remove any blots there may be upon our fair name, and cultivate those special characteristics which seem

to indicate His special work for us in our day and generation. If in any small way these simple lectures conduce to this result their author will have abundant reason to be satisfied.

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## APPENDIX

(See note 1, p. 26)

Anima Virginis, illumina me.  
Corpus Virginis, custodi me.  
Lac Virginis, pasce me.  
Fletus Virginis, purifica me.  
Transitus Virginis confirma me.  
O MARIA, Mater gratiae, intercede pro me.  
In tuum seruitium suscipe me.  
Fac, me semper confidere in te.  
A malis omnibus protege me.  
In hora mortis adiuua me.  
Et iter mihi para tutum ad te.  
Vt cum Electis omnibus glorificem te.  
In secula seculorum.  
Amen.

Seraphic Doctoris S. Patris Io. Evstachii Bonaventurae Ord. Min. Episcopi Albanensi, S. R. E. olim Card. *Psalterium in honorem B. Mariae Virginis compilatum.*

Romae, Typis Ignatij de Lazaris, 1660 Superiorum permissu, p. 253.







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